THE GREATER RAMAYANA

The Professor L. Venkataratnam Lectures
for 1971 in the University of Madras

BY
DR. V. RAGHAVAN
Professor of Sanskrit, University of Madras (Retired)
Fellow, Jawaharlal Nehru Foundation 1969-70

WITH A FOREWORD BY
DR. VIBHUTI NARAIN SINGH
(Maharajah of Banaras)
President, All-India Kashiraj Trust

सर्वभारतीय काशिराजन्यास

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FOREWORD

When, in addition to the various activities in the fields of *Dharma*, I thought of some literary project as part of the work of the All-India Kashiraj Trust, it appeared to me most appropriate to take up the *Puranas* with which Hinduism was most intimately connected. Also from the historical and cultural point of view, this branch of Sanskrit literature contained very valuable material. The work was important also from the literary aspect and that of textual criticism. Not only for general reading but also for research, improved editions and critical editions of the *Puranas* were necessary and concentrated work on this branch was a desideratum.

When I was thinking of scholars who could help me in this long-term Purana Project, a work hinging primarily on manuscripts, the name of Dr. V. Raghavan, Professor of Sanskrit at that time at the University of Madras, was the first to come to my mind. He had been engaged on the compilation of the *New Catalogus Catalogorum* of Sanskrit manuscripts, toured all over the country and the world, visited the largest number of manuscript collections, public and private, and was a ready referencer on matters of manuscripts, works and authors. As a member of the Sanskrit Commission and the seniormost active scholar on the Central Sanskrit Board, he had rendered continuous and conspicuous service to the cause of Sanskrit education and studies at all levels.

I am glad to say that Dr. Raghavan has been of constant help to the All-India Kashiraj Trust in the *Purana* Project from the beginning. As one who combines with scholarship, a constructive faith in the ideals and values of our culture and literature, he has been our friend, philosopher and guide.

The two *Itihasas* go with the *Puranas* and *Itihasa-purana* has always been a composite concept. In the *Purana*

Bulletin of Purana Department and in our contributory publications, the whole field of *Itihasa-Purana* has been comprehended. The present publication is an illustration of the intimate relation of the two *Itihasas* between themselves, and of these two with the *Puranas*. The internal connections of this literature and the permeation of it by the epic of Valmiki in ideas and expressions, have a text-critical value. Meticulous care, range, organisation and presentation, style and readability have marked Dr. Raghavan's writings. In the present study, as elsewhere, he shows not only his mastery of the minutiae of the subject but also the over-all comprehension.

I hope Dr. V. Raghavan will give us now more of his time to develop the work of the Purana Project and more of his work for our Publication programme. From the holy Vyasa-Kasi, I invoke the blessings of Vyasa and Lord Visvanatha on him for his further contributions to Sanskrit and Indian Culture.

Fort Ramnagar
VARANASI
31-12-1972

VIBHUTI NARAIN SINGH

PREFACE

I thank the authorities of the University of Madras for inviting me to deliver the Professor L. Venkataratnam Endowment Lectures for 1971. This is one of the recently endowed lectures, with which I was connected as convener for the first few years, and as far as I remember, among those who have lectured under this Endowment, I am the only one who had been a student of Prof. L. Venkataratnam and closely associated with him in the Sanskrit Department of the Presidency College, Madras.

These Lectures were delivered at the University of Madras on the 23rd and 24th of September, 1971. I must express my gratitude to the University for giving me permission to publish these lectures privately and to His Highness the Maharajah of Banaras, Dr. Vibhuti Narain Singh, Founder and Chairman of the All-India Kashiraj Trust, for including the publication of these lectures in the programme of the Purana Department of the Trust.

I have explained in the opening paragraphs the scope of these lectures. What I have dealt with here forms part of a chain of studies undertaken by me, on the *Ramayana* from different points of view. A few of these studies have been published and several remain to be brought out. References are made to the former in the course of the lectures. Special attention may be drawn to one of them, the long paper on the *Tattavasamgraharamayana* of Ramabrahmananda, with an appendix on the same author's shorter work, the *Ramayanatattvadarpana*; both these texts offer a large amount of material on Rama culled from different Puranas and Purana-like compilations but oriented specifically to the philosophical and esoteric understanding of the Rama-incarnation and to the Rama-cult in all its aspects.

I am thankful to the Maharajah of Banaras for his Foreword. In the reading of the proofs of this book and the preparation of the indexes, I have received assistance from Dr. S. S. Janaki for which I thank her. I must express my thanks also to the M.L.J. Press, Madras, who printed this work.

Punarvasu
MADRAS
3-9-1972

V. RAGHAVAN

MOTTO

रावणारिकथावार्धौ मशको मादृशः कियान् ।
यत्र ब्रह्मादयो देवा मोहिता न विदन्त्यपि ॥

तथापि भो मया तुभ्यं वक्तव्यं स्वीयशक्तितः ।
पक्षिणः स्वगर्तिप्रायं खे गच्छन्ति सुविस्तरे ॥

चरितं रघुनाथस्य शतकोटिसुविस्तरम् ।
येषां वै यादृशी बुद्धिस्ते वदन्त्येव तादृशम् ॥
—Padmapurāṇa, Pātālakhaṇḍa, 1.12-14.

तेषु तेषु पुराणेषु महाभारत एव च ।
यत्र रामचरित्रं स्यात् तदहं तत्र शक्तिमान् ॥
—Vālmīki in Bṛhaddharmapurāṇa, 30.51.

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ERRATA

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7	21	After the Sanskrit quotation, add the reference III.50.5 (Kumbh.)
10	5	Winternitz
13	8 from below	passage
22	28	genuineness
25	5	*Viṣṇudharmottara*
28	last line	3.9 (not 39)
30	fn.	After ' Purāṇas ', add ' See pp. 55, 64 '
50	17	by Rāma
54	9 from below	midst
55	fn. 1.1	Ch. 6 (not Ch. 5)
68	6 from below	fragmentary
69	1	Before ' Chs. 28-30 ', add Skandha III
72	16	Goddess
79	15 left column	Maṇḍodarī 8, 70
,,	38 ,, ,,	Mārkaṇḍeya 5, 7

THE GREATER RĀMĀYAṆA

(1)

The subject that I have chosen for my lectures, 'The Greater Rāmāyaṇa', is of great interest to students of Sanskrit literature. As tradition and modern research, as the practice of poets and history bear out, Vālmīki, the *Ādi-kavi*, is not only the father of Sanskrit[1] and Indian Poetry, but his influence spread far beyond the borders of this country and still enjoys a remarkable hold over the whole of South-East Asia. It is significant that the first International Rāmāyaṇa festival, which has just been held, has been organised by Indonesia which has the most extensive and beautiful sculptural representation of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and has preserved the most beautiful form of the *Rāmāyaṇa* dance-drama. As we are speaking, the national festival of Dasarah (Navarātrī) in honour of Devī is on and an important part of this festival in the North is the *Rāmalīlā*-pageant.

The title 'Greater Rāmāyaṇa' is used here in the same sense in which I have used the title 'Greater Gītā' in a former study of mine, or the title 'Greater India' which was, till sometime back, much in use by writers on Indian history and culture. It refers to the expansion of the text beyond itself over the whole literature in Sanskrit itself, as also the literatures in other languages, and the impress and influence of its theme and expression on a whole civilization and culture and as it happens in the case of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, on literatures, civilizations and cultures outside the country of its origin. The influence of the *Rāmāyaṇa* has been not merely on literatures but on the arts of sculpture and painting, music, dance and drama as well. In all these respects, the subject has fascinated scholars and there have been many studies on it. This large subject falls into the following major sections: *Rāmāyaṇa* and Sanskrit Literature, *Rāmāyaṇa* and Literatures in other Indian Languages, *Rāmāyaṇa* and Buddhist and Jain writings, *Rāmāyaṇa* and countries outside India[2], *Rāmāyaṇa* and the arts.

Taking the field of Sanskrit alone, we have the classical poems and plays based on the Epic, the other texts going by the same name *Rāmāyaṇa*, *e.g.*, the *Ānanda*, *Adbhuta*, *Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇas* and the vast Itihāsa-Purāṇa literature which is no less permeated by the story, spirit and form of Vālmīki's work. To one of these, the *Rāmāyaṇa*-plays, I have contributed a detailed study[1] and to others, brief sketches. It is one of these latter—The *Rāmāyaṇa* and the Itihāsa-Purāṇa Literature—that I propose to enlarge upon in these two lectures.

---

[1] For the tributes of Sanskrit poets to the *Ādikavi*, see my collection *Ādikavi-kāvyapraśastayaḥ*, 1963.

[2] On this, I have spoken on the Vālmīki Day at the Madras Samskṛta Academy and elsewhere and my lecture on this will be published shortly.

(2)

First I shall deal with the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the sister epic, the *Mahābhārata*, then its supplement the *Harivaṁśa*, and then the Purāṇas and Upapurāṇas. As an Itihāsa, the *Mahābhārata* shares several common features, in form and language, with the *Rāmāyaṇa*[2]. There are also the differences firstly of diction and style which marks off Vyāsa from Vālmīki, and secondly of the physical and historical phenomenon by which the *Mahābhārata* grew into a large repository of ancient Indian heroic lays and an encyclopaedia of Indian wisdom. Modern historical scholarship has formulated a certain amount of addition to Vālmīki's work also, but not to the extent or in the same method, as in the case of Vyāsa's. The examination of the two texts in the light of each other reveals several data of importance for the textual criticism of both epics, besides points of thematic and literary interest and significance.

As a background to this study, it is necessary to refer, however briefly, to the chronological position of the two Epics. This question has been examined at length by several scholars from the earliest stages of modern research onwards, Weber[3], Jacobi, Winternitz, Hopkins[4] and others to Sukthankar, the Editor of the BORI Critical text of the *Mahābhārata*. The issue is an involved one but for our present purpose, it would suffice to say, in simple terms, that there is a consensus that the *Rāmāyaṇa* is earlier and that the redactors or diaskeuasts of the Great Epic knew and had before them the story and the text of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and its author Vālmīki. Thus Winternitz says:[5] "......Our present *Rāmāyaṇa* is older than the *Mahābhārata* in its present form" and "The whole *Rāmāyaṇa*, including the later portions, was already an old and famous work when the *Mahābhārata* had not yet attained its present form". Jacobi says in his *Das Rāmāyaṇa*[6]: "I consider it highly probable that Vālmīki has exercised this influence, because his work existed beside and despite the *Mahābhārata* and tradition ascribes to him the glory of being the *Adi Kavi* or the first poet". Again, "My view about the influence of the *Rāmāyaṇa* on the *Mahābhārata*, to be more brief, is based on the following points: 1. In the present shape the *Rāmāyaṇa* is older than the *Mahābhārata* 2. If not the first, it (the *Rāmāyaṇa*) was the predecessor of all homogeneous and artificial poems, which surpassed all of its kind. 3. The technique of poetry with regard to delineation, language and metre, which was brought to completion by Vālmīki became the standard for the epic poetry of later times. 4. The epic songs, which had the legends of the *Mahābhārata* as their themes, were remodelled by the conditions of higher *Kāvya* style introduced by Vālmīki". For the latest opinion on this question, we may cite Sukthankar who had to examine it thoroughly for the critical edition of the *Mahābhārata*. In his paper 'The Nala Episode and the Rāmāyana'[1] he observed "that our *Rāmāyaṇa* text—or the bulk of it at any rate—was used as a 'source' by the diaskeuasts of the *Mahābhārata*. We can even go further and admit with Jacobi that the *Rāmāyaṇa* must already have been "generally familiar as an *ancient* work before the *Mahābhārata* reached its present form".[2]

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[1] *Some Old Lost Rāma Plays*, Annamalai University, 1961.

[2] On these, see Hopkins, *The Great Epic of India*, where he collects a large number of common tags, epithets and similes in descriptions of places, persons, heroism, beauty etc. and parallel matter on topics of cosomogony, geography etc. common to Itihāsa-Purāṇa literature. There are also the Dharma and Rājadharma and other didactic material common to the two.

[3] *Uber das Rāmāyaṇa.*

[4] *The Great Epic of India : Its Character and Origin*, 1902.

[5] *History of Indian Literature*, English version, Calcutta University, I. p. 516

[6] English version, Oriental Institute, Baroda, 1960, pp. 60, 64.

The stories of many ancient Kings, their major exploit(s) or outstanding act(s) or character-trait(s) or virtue(s) are invoked in the *Rāmāyaṇa* itself. These, along with the story of Rāma, like several other parables and edificatory tales, were part of the heritage of the epic authors or the *Sūtas* who recited them. A nucleus of lines constituting the essence of the life and achievement of a certain number of heroes was handed down in a permanent form and to these additions were made, every time there was occasion to refer to them or narrate their story. Of several such occasions, one may be mentioned from the *Mahābhārata*. When the great heroic son of Arjuna, Abhimanyu, is killed by the joint effort of all the veterans on the Kaurava side and Yudhiṣṭhira is plunged in sorrow as a result of this tragedy (Droṇaparva, Gorakh and Kumbh 59, Critical App. I.8),[3] Vyāsa consoles Yudhiṣṭhira by pointing out the inexorable fact of how earlier or later everybody, however great, has to die and narrates the story of sixteen Kings of old—*Ṣoḍaśarājakīyopākhyāna*—

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1. *New Indian Antiquary : A Volume of Eastern and Indian Studies in honour of F.W. Thomas*, Poona, pp. 294-303.
2. Very recently, Dr P.L. Vaidya, who edited some of the Kāṇḍas of the Vālmīki *Rāmāyaṇa* for the Oriental Institute, Baroda, has expressed himself to the contrary and I shall refer to his view later.
3. The editions of the *Mahābhārata* referred to are: Gorakh—Gita Press, Gorakhpur, 1957-58; Kumbh—T.R. Krishnacharya and T.R. Vyasacharya, Kumbhakonam (Printed at Nirnaya Sagar Press, Bombay); Critical—The Critical edition of V.S. Sukthankar and others, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona-4.

who were far greater than Abhimanyu. The *Ṣoḍaśarājakīya* is repeated in Śānti (Gorakh and Critical 29) for consoling Yudhiṣṭhira again[1]. There are set verses which are repeated here and which form natural parts of ancient rhapsodies. The fourth of the stories in this cycle is that of Rāma and this succint account of Rāma in about 25 verses is divided equally between the leading incidents of his life and the exemplary nature of his rule, the proverbial *Rāmarājya*. And the narration ends with the following lines, some of which are found in the text of Vālmīki in the description of *Rāmarājya*:

> श्यामो युवा लोहिताक्षो मत्तमातङ्गविक्रमः ।
> आजानुबाहुः सुभुजः सिंहस्कन्धो महाबलः ॥
> दशवर्षसहस्राणि दशवर्षशतानि च ।
> सर्वभूतमनःकान्तो रामो राज्यमकारयत् ॥
> रामो रामो राम इति प्रजानामभवन् कथाः ।
> रामाद् रामं जगद्भूत्[2] रामे राज्यं प्रशासति ॥

The Śānti-version is shorter but includes some of the above lines—Chapter 29 śls. 51-62.

The above lines *Śyāmo Yuvā* etc. on the personality of Rāma, and on the duration and moral grandeur of *Rāmarājya* are found verbatim at the conclusion of another brief account of the *Rāmāyaṇa*-story in the Sabhā parvan. There, to impress upon the guests and the gathering at the Rājasūya sacrifice, the greatness and worthiness of Kṛṣṇa, as deserving of the first honour, Bhīṣma narrates the stories of the Avatāras of Viṣṇu (Kumbh 50, Gorakh 38). The Critical edition relegates this to the Appendix (No. 21)[3]. It may be noted that these memorial lines are introduced here with words which signify their character as verses coming down traditionally:

> गाथामप्यत्र गायन्ति ये पुराणविदो जनाः ।

Among Purāṇas, as we shall note, the *Vāyu* has these lines on Rāma.

On one hand, the growth of the *Bhārata* into the *Mahābhārata* might have attracted into the great Epic, the Rāma-story, like other ancient stories; on the other, of all ancient stories, that of Rāma was more strongly implanted on the people's memory and it must have come naturally to the mind of the author or authors of the Great

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[1] See my paper 'Pañcamahāśabda', *Indian Linguistics*, Turner Jubilee Vol. I. 1958, Poona, pp. 309-10.

[2] May be read as in Vālmīki: रामभूतं जगद्भूत् ।

[3] As we shall see later, this sub-section occurs in the *Harivaṁśa* and the BORI. Critical edition retains it in the main text.

Epic; and further, the fine form which epic poetry took in Vālmīki's hand could not but have its attraction to the later composers. In all these ways the Rāma-saga and Vālmīki's poem have influenced and permeated the *Mahābhārata.*

Over three hundred phrases, set epithets and tags common to the *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Mahābhārata* have, as already mentioned, been collected by Hopkins.[1] As he himself says, these are a random collection and actually many more could be collected. We may leave these and notice on this occasion places where narratives of shorter or longer size of the *Rāmāyaṇa*-story and significant allusions to or citations from the *Rāmāyaṇa* are found in different contexts of the *Mahābhārata.* These disclose matters of interest for textual criticism and recensions of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and also for the prevalence of diverse traditions of episodes of the Rāma-epos.

(3)

The first short account of the *Rāmāyaṇa* in the Great Epic is the one in the Sabhā, in connection with the honouring of Kṛṣṇa (Arghāharaṇa-parvan), already referred to, which has, at the end, the set verses on Rāma's personality and *Rāmarājya* quoted above. The resume of the *Rāmāyaṇa* given here (Gorakh II, 38; Kumbh 50, Critical App. 21) has its own value; in a few rapid strokes, the author shows what, according to him, are most significant in incident or idea in the *Rāmāyaṇa.* Thus Rāma is said to have manifested himself with Viśvāmitra as his guide 'Viśvāmitrapurassaraḥ', which is indeed most significant considering the role that Viśvāmitra played in the formative part of Rāma's life, in the laying of the foundation, so to say, for the further developments. The reading here 'Mārkaṇḍeyapurassaraḥ' adopted by the Kumbhakonam edition and the Critical edition in the Appendix is inferior and intriguing.[2] The chief purpose of the Avatāra stated in a single foot 'Prasādanārtham lokasya' which is 'Prasādhanārtham' in the Critical, 'for the purification or improvement of the world' sums up admirably the mission of Rāma; and the expression 'Dharmārtham eva' which follows, reinforces the same by emphasising the chief means that Rāma adopted or exemplified, viz., Dharma.

प्रसाद(ध)नार्थं लोकस्य विष्णुस्तस्य सनातनः ।
धर्मार्थमेव कौन्तेय जज्ञे तत्र महायशाः ॥

Another vital description of Rāma included here is 'सर्वभूतहिते रतः.'

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1. *Op.Cit.* See App. A. Pp. 403-45.
2. Although Vasiṣṭha and next to him Vāmadeva were the chief Purohitas of the family, Vālmīki mentions also six other Brahman Ṛtviks and advisers, one of whom is a Mārkaṇḍeya. (Bāla 7.4-5).

The *Rāmarājya* is described with lines taken from Vālmīki and also additional ones in the spirit and style of expression found in Vālmīki. The killing of Subāhu and the driving away of Mārīca and the crucial incident of Śūrpaṇakhā and the killing of Khara and Dūṣaṇa and even of Mārīca and some others too, are told in some detail but at two important points, the account skips essential episodes, probably because it does not want to dwell on them. The first of these two is the circumstances that led to Rāma going to the forests and the second is Rāvaṇa abducting Sītā. The latter is skipped, even at the risk of making the narrative a little jerky. On manuscript evidence, there is nothing missing here; it is therefore in the very nature of the summary of the story offered here that it presupposes knowledge of the detailed account in Vālmīki. There are also a few expressions reproduced actually from Vālmīki: e.g. *Tithau nāvamike jajñe*[1] (2) and *kṛtvātmānam..caturdhā*[2], and a few others, though not in the same context: e.g., *Sītāyāḥ padam anvicchan* (śl. 19)[3] and *Bhinnāñjana-cayopamam* (śl. 2)[4]. It shoud be noted that this account knows the *Uttarakāṇḍa* and also the belief that even as Rāma was Viṣṇu, Sītā was Lakṣmī incarnate.

(ii) The next context in the *Mahābhārata* where we come across the *Rāmāyaṇa* is not any account of its story but a poetic excursus showing the influence of Vālmīki. At the end of the second game of dice and defeat, the scene of the Pāṇḍava brothers, deprived of everything and going on their exile to the forests, cannot but suggest the parallel of Rāma, Sītā and Lakṣmaṇa going to the forest, to live the Tāpasa-life. The context invites, so to say, a comparison with that in the story of Rāma and intensifies the pathos with the memorable verses readily available in Vālmīki (Gorakh 79, Kumbh 101). The Critical edition relegates this portion echoing and reproducing Vālmīki to the Appendix (No. 41). The verses are taken verbatim and in some cases, with minimum changes such as 'Rāghava' into 'Pāṇḍava' and 'Sītayā sārdham' into 'Kṛṣṇayā sārdham.' In one case, the *Rāmāyaṇa*-line अद्य नूनं दशरथः सत्त्वमाविश्य भाषते is taken and has to be changed into अद्य नूनं पृथा देवी which is apparently awkward[5]. About 25 verses are taken over here bodily from Vālmīki (Ayodhyā 33, Southern).

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1. *Cf*. Vālmīki, Bāla 18.8 (Southern).
2. *Cf*. *Ibid*. Bāla 15.20.
3. *Ibid*. Sundara 1.1.
4. *Cf*. *Ibid*. Kiṣ. 27.12.13. The Southern text used is that of T.R. Krishnacharya, Kumbhakonam, Text only, 1929. Second edition.
5. To obviate this awkwardness, 'Sattvam āviśya', which is correct, has been emended by some one to 'Satyam āviśya', a reading found in the Kumbhakonam Text and strangely adopted by the Critical edition in the Appendix-text (l. 20). In Vālmīki the speaker referred to is Daśaratha

In the very next chapter (80 Gorakh; 71 Critical), there is a second description of the condition of the Pāṇḍavas when they left, as told by Vidura to the inquisitive Dhṛtarāṣṭra. In the middle of the description is an amplification which is relegated to App. (No. 44) in the Critical. There occurs a verse here which says that Hastināpura in that situation resembled Ayodhyā when Rāma, deprived of his kingdom, went to the forests, along with Lakṣmaṇa.

(iii) Reference was made above to the *Nalopākhyāna* (in the Vanaparvan (52-78 Gorakh; Kumbh 49-77; 50-77 Critical) and Sukthankar's study of it with reference to the *Rāmāyaṇa.* The Nala-story is narrated by sage Bṛahadaśva, like the Rāma-story later by sage Mārkaṇḍeya, to console Yudhiṣṭhira with the stories of great Kings of the past who were not free from such sufferings. Sukthankar drew attention to 18 passages in the Nala-story and their originals or parallels in Vālmīki. All these are from one context, the one describing Damayantī in separation from Nala and presenting an obvious parallel to Sītā. There are other passages too, shorter ones, in other parts of the Nala-story, taken from the *Rāmāyaṇa* or echoing the ideas and expressions of the latter.

1. The description of the Vidarbha King Bhīma प्रजाकामः स चाप्रजाः is from Vālmīki's description of Sagara (1.38.2 Kumbh).

2. As Damayantī enters the Svayaṁvara hall, the eyes of the on-looking suitors which fell on her got stuck up there:

तस्या गात्रेषु पतिता तेषां दृष्टिर्महात्मनाम् ।
तत्र तत्रैव सक्ताभूत् न चचाल च पश्यताम् ॥ (57.9)

This echoes Rāvaṇa's words to Sītā in Aśokavana, in Vālmīki, V.20.15:

यद्यत्पश्यामि ते गात्रं शीतांशुसदृशानने ।
तत्र तत्र पृथुश्रोणि चक्षुर्मम निबध्यते ॥

When Nala leaves Damayantī while she was still asleep, with half the piece of cloth, and on waking up she weeps over her fate, she says (63.6):

नाकाले विहितो मृत्युर्मर्त्यानां पुरुषर्षभ ।
(यत्र) कान्ता त्वयोत्सृष्टा मुहूर्तमपि जीवति ॥

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and in his case 'Sattvam āviśya' has the bad sense of his appearing to speak under possession by an evil spirit; but in the *Mahābhārata,* where 'Daśaratha' is substituted by Pṛthā (Kuntī), it refers to what Pṛthā has just spoken before this; Kuntī speaks here first like Sumitrā in Vālmīki with fortitude and blesses Draupadī and her sons; it is this fortitude that is meant by 'Sattvam āviśya' although when she comes forth and sees her sons, she loses her fortitude and starts crying. The point to be noted therefore is that the *Mahābhārata* uses the same word *Sattva* in a different sense and it is the failure to note this that has caused the wrong emendation *Satyam.*

(Critical 60; relegated to fn. 249*). This is based on what Sītā says after Rāvaṇa had threatened her (Sundara 25. 12-13):

अकाले दुर्लभो मृत्युः स्त्रिया वा पुरुषस्य वा ।
यत्राहमेवं * *
जीवामि हीना रामेण मुहूर्तमपि दुःखिता ॥

Chapter 64 presents the picture of Damayantī wandering alone in the forests in search of Nala and her wailings and addresses to hill and dale, tree and river, animal and bird, remind us strongly, in ideas and style, Rāma's wailings and his addresses to these objects of Nature after the loss of Sītā, in Vālmīki. In Damayantī's long addresses to all these, there are several echoes of Vālmīki. The words in her address to Nala himself, 'Vīra vikrānta' occur in Vālmīki in Maṇḍodarī's apostrophe of Rāvaṇa lying on the battlefield (VI. 112.2) One of Rāma's well-known addresses in the context mentioned above is the one to the Aśoka tree, with a play on the word Aśoka:

अशोक शोकापनुद शोकोपहतचेतसम् ।
त्वन्नामानं कुरु क्षिप्रं प्रियासन्दर्शनेन माम् ॥ (60.17)

Which is unmistakably reproduced in Damayantī's lament (64.101-107);

विललापाश्रुपूर्णाक्षी दृष्ट्वाशोकतरुं ततः ।
विशोकं कुरु मां क्षिप्रमशोक प्रियदर्शन ॥

* * *

यथा विशोका गच्छेयमशोकनग तत्कुरु ।
सत्यनामा भवाशोक मम शोकविनाशनात् ॥

(Critical 61.97-102; all these are retained).

Bhīma of Vidarbha, Damayantī's father, sends Brahmins in all directions in search of Damayantī and Nala and one of them, Sudeva finds Damayantī in the palace of the King of Cedis. It is at this juncture that the parallel of Hanumān finding Sītā in the Aśokavana occurs to the author of *Nalopākhyāna* and a series of verses are transferred from Hanumān in Vālmīki, Sundarakāṇḍa (15-16), to Sudeva; it is these that Sukthankar has quoted in his article already referred to. Without citing again all these verses, I shall deal only with such as offer points of textual interest.

विदर्भसरसः तस्माद्दैवदोषादिवोद्धृताम् । (65.12)

is found in Vālmiki, as Sukthankar pointed out, only in Gorresio's text, with Ikṣvāku for Vidarbha.

पतिशोकाकुलां दीनां शुष्कस्रोतां नदीमिव । 13 cd.

which Sukthankar refers to Gorresio 21.15 cd. is found in the Southern and NW texts also with a slight difference in reading (V. 19.17 ab Kumbh; 25.17 ab NW). In two other passages too, the readings agree with those in Gorresio.

After Damayantī is brought to her father's palace, Brahmans are despatched again to search for Nala; and Damayantī sends a message to Nala wherever he may be found, through these Brahmans (69.36 ff. Gorakh; 56-8 ff. Critical). This message again is couched in the style of Sitā's message to Rāma through Hanumān (Vālmīki, Sundara, 38) and also in Sītā's words in other contexts, to the Rākṣasīs and others (26.13).

Thus Nala 69.42 (Gorakh), 67.14 (Critical):

ख्यातः प्राज्ञः कुलीनश्च सानुक्रोशो भवान् सदा ।
संवृत्तो निरनुक्रोशः शङ्के मद्भाग्यसंक्षयात् ॥

is Vālmīki 26.13 (Southern text), Sītā's soliloquy before her demoness-guards.

The next verse,

स कुरुष्व महेष्वास दयां मयि नरर्षभ ।
आनृशंस्यं परो धर्मस्त्वत्त एव हि मे श्रुतम् ॥

is from Sītā's message to Rāma through Hanumān (38.39-40, Southern).

स कुरुष्व महोत्साहः कृपां मयि नरर्षभ ।
* * *
आनृशंस्यं परो धर्मः त्वत्त एव मया श्रुतः ॥

At the end of the chapter describing the meeting of Nala and Damayantī, in her father's palace, we have two verses (76.52-3, Gorakh; 75. 26:7 Critical), describing Damayantī's joy:

अर्धसञ्जातसस्येव तोयं प्राप्य वसुन्धरा ।

which is the same as Vālmīki, Sundara 40.2 (Southern) describing Sītā giving her final message to Hanumān, the reading here also agreeing with that in Gorresio (37.2, 'toyam' for 'vṛṣṭim'). The following verse in *Nalopākhyāna* which concludes the chapter:

सैवं समेत्य व्यपनीततन्द्री शान्तज्वरा हर्षविवृद्धसत्त्वा ।
रराज भैमी समवाप्तकामा शीतांशुना रात्रिरिवोदितेन ॥

(76.53 Gorakh, 75.27 Critical) is Vālmīki, Sundara, 29.8, Southern; 28.18 Gorresio, describing the auspicious indications seen by Sītā showing a turn for the better in the situation, and foreboding the meeting with Hanumān, with the minimum changes necessary to transfer it from Sītā to Damayantī.

Comparing the *Nalopākhyāna* with the *Rāmopākhyāna* which will be dealt with presently, Witernitz says that while the latter is an inartistic summary of the *Rāmāyaṇa* or the early Rāma-songs or poems, the *Nalopākhyāna* is an artistic whole; but even so, as the above analysis shows, the *Nalopākhyāna*, like the rest of the Great Epic, is also under the influence of the *Rāmāyaṇa*.

(iv) The next mini-*Rāmāyaṇa* in the *Mahābhārata* is in Vana, Tīrthayātrā, in Lomaśa's account of various Tīrthas. It occurs as part of the description of a sacred spot called Bhṛgu-tīrtha (Gorakh 99; Kumbh 98). The Critical edition, which drops this sub-section, gives its text in Appendix 14, and discussing it in his *Epic Studies* VI[1] Sukthankar, the Editor of the Parvan, points out how it is a misfit, wedged in as it is between two parts of Agastya's exploits. Developing as he does here the Bhṛgu-Bhārgava-role in the making of the *Mahābhārata*, Sukthankar uses strong words against this section which apparently does not glorify Bhṛgu Rāma. But let us have a fresh look at it, its context and contents, for its own intrinsic interest.

The scene of Dāśarathi Rāma meeting Bhārgava Rāma is laid in Ayodhyā, not on the way from Mithilā to Ayodhyā as in Vālmīki. Having heard of Viṣṇu's manifestation as Rāma in Daśaratha's house, Paraśurāma goes to Ayodhyā out of curiosity. Daśaratha deputes his son Rāma to meet him at the outskirts of the City. Seeing Rāma come armed with bow and arrows, Paraśurāma asks him to bend his own bow. When Rāma does this, Paraśurāma asks him to draw the string and shoot his own arrow upon which Rāma pulls him up for his pride. And then occurs a thing which we hardly expect: Dāśarathi Rāma tells Bhārgava Rāma that the latter does not, in his pride, know who he was and shows Paraśurāma his own *Viśvarūpa*, as Kṛṣṇa does before Arjuna in the *Gītā*. Five verses describe how Paraśurāma saw the whole creation within young Dāśarathi Rāma, cast off his pride, saluted him and, with his leave, left for Mt. Mahendra. Later, Bhārgava Rāma comes to the Bhṛgu-tīrtha and performs Tapas to regain his lost effulgence.

(v) A little later, in the same Vana parvan, another thumb-nail sketch of the *Rāmāyaṇa* is given. This is in the episode of Bhīma bringing the Saugandhika flower for Draupadī (Ch. 148 Gorakh; 149-150 Kumbh). Bhīma meets Hanumān in this expedition of his. This episode has been retained in the Critical edition (Ch. 147) but without a separate chapter-division as found in the Vulgate.

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[1] *ABORI.* XVIII. i. pp. 20-21.

The Critical text gives a shorter version, the omissions being mostly the verses on Hanumān's search for and discovery of Sītā and the building of the causeway and the battle. This brief account too shows its familiarity with Vālmīki's text, although echoes or actual reproductions here of Vālmīki's words or lines are very few.

(vi) The sixth in order is the most extensive and is a regular sub-section of the Vana parvan entitled *Rāmopākhyāna*. [1]Before coming to that, we shall deal with the resume of the *Rāmāyaṇa* in the *Ṣoḍaśarājakīya* section in the Droṇa parvan, which was referred to earlier (Gorakh Ch. 59; Kumbh Ch. 59). This brings out the chief ideas of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and it is couched in the style of Vālmīki, although no straight parallels or actual reproductions are to be found. The account is divided half and half between the whole story and the blessed rule of Rāma. As mentioned before, it closes with the set of verses on Rāma and *Rāmarājya* handed down traditionally, two of these verses being reproduced from Vālmīki. In the Śānti where the stories of these sixteen ancient Kings figure again, the accounts are briefer and under Rāma, the *Rāmarājya*-part alone is given (Gorakh Ch. 29. Kumbh Ch. 28).

(vii) We shall now come to the *Rāmopākhyāna* of the Āraṇya parvan which has been studied in some detail (Gorakh Chs. 274-292; Kumbh 275-82 Critical 258-276). The narrative is occasioned by Duryodhana's brother-in-law Jayadratha forcibly taking away Draupadī when the Pāṇḍava brothers had gone out on a hunt. After the brothers defeat Jayadratha and recover Draupadī, Yudhiṣṭhira tells sage Mārkaṇḍeya what humiliation it was that Draupadī should have been thus abducted. To console Yudhiṣṭhira Mārkaṇḍeya narrates the story of Rāma whose wife was similarly carried away by Rāvaṇa. The narrative runs to seventeen chapters and is retained in the Critical edition. Jacobi, who after Weber examined this section in more detail opined that this is a 'free imitation' of Vālmīki's epic within a brief compass because, while there were reminiscences of Vālmīki, there were also differences. He also pointed out how the author of this section knew the *Rāmāyaṇa* as already having the Uttarakāṇḍa, and how the text of the *Rāmāyaṇa* which the author had before him possessed the verses in the longer metres also, as in one place clearly, in Sītā's reply to Rāvaṇa, an

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1. In Virāṭa 14.35, Kumbh, we have a line on the beauty of Draupadī in the guise of a Sairandbrī, put into the mouth of the Virāṭa queen Sudeṣṇā:

त्वां सृष्ट्वोपरतं मन्ये लोककर्तारमीश्वरम्

which is Vālmīki, Sundara (20.13. Southern) spoken by Rāvaṇa about Sītā's beauty:

त्वां कृत्वोपरतो मन्ये रूपकर्ता च विश्वसृक् ।

The Critical edn. gives this only in the footnotes (IV. 8 fn. 205).

Anuṣṭubh of the *Rāmopākhyāna* summarises an Upajāti verse in Vālmīki (*Mahābhārata*, III. 278.40, Gorakh and Vālmīki, Southern III 47.44). Also, the summary treatment of the story in the *Rāmopākhyāna* presupposes a knowledge of Vālmīki's original. The summary is not even; while some important events are just touched or even skipped, making the narrative too tabloid or jerky, less important incidents are somewhat dilated upon. The summary treatment necessitates sometimes telescoping of incidents and reduction of the number of occurrences of an incident which happens more than once to a single occasion, the most notable example of this last being Indrajit's appearances on the battlefield, reduced from three to one. Sometimes a thing is transferred from one character to another *e.g.*, the limbs of Rāvaṇa severed by Rāma growing again, transferred to Kumbhakarṇa in his encounter with Lakṣmaṇa. Rāma not killing Kumbhakarṇa straightaway but gradually cutting off his limbs one after the other, is however a process which Rāma usually adopts; in Vālmīki, Rāma adopts this for Tāṭakā and Kumbhakarṇa. In the narration of the events, the *Rāmopākhyāna* follows its own scheme, sometimes relating earlier a later event and *vice versa.*

Do these differences call for a version of the *Rāmāyaṇa* different from the well-known one ? Or could all these differences be explained by the exigencies of the abridgement, its character as a free imitation and it being an account based on a memorised text and not a ms., and allowing for the play of fancy too ? Jacobi would subscribe to the latter explanation.

Sukthankar studied the *Rāmopākhyāna* in further detail in connection with his editorial work on the Vanaparvan. In his study on this[1] Sukthankar tabulated 86 passages[2] of the *Rāmopākhyāna* with their clear verbal parallels in *Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa*, in its different recensions, which go to strengthen Jacobi's view.

We shall now follow the narrative as given in the *Rāmopākhyāna* and note its peculiarities and points of interest. In the first two chapters it sets forth the *dramatis personae*, on the side of both the hero and the anti-hero. But the geneology of the latter, Rāvaṇa, as given here has some differences from that in Vālmīki in all the three recensions. Regarding the former, the Hero-side, the only point which may be noted is the information that Tvaṣṭā himself made Sītā, daughter of Janaka as the would-be Queen of Rāma : यां चकार स्वयं त्वष्टा । This is evidently to be taken in a general sense and as suggestive of her beauty.[3] Now, on the side of Rāvaṇa: it is said that Kubera himself, to please his father Viśravas, gave the latter three Rākṣasīs, Puṣpotkaṭā, Rākā and Mālinī and of these, Puṣpotkaṭā gave Viśravas, as sons, the first two brothers Rāvaṇa and Kumbhakarṇa, Mālinī gave Vibhīṣaṇa, the third Dhārmic son, and Rākā, Khara and Śūrpaṇakhā. According to Vālmīki, the Vulgate and Gorresio which agree, give the three Rākṣasīs as daughters of Sumālin and their names as Puṣpotkaṭā, Rākā and Kaikasī, the last read as *Naikasī* in Gorresio (VII.5.40); the last alone becomes the wife of Viśravas and mother of Rāvaṇa, Kumbhakarṇa and Vibhīṣaṇa[1]. In the North-Western recension alone, there is a variant, which the edition adopts, according to which Kaikasī had an alternate name Puṣpotkaṭā (Uttara, 8.16). Śūrpaṇakhā, according to the Vulgate, is the third issue of Viśravas and Kaikasī, in between Kumbhakarṇa and Vibhīṣaṇa, but according to the *Rāmopākhyāna*, she and Khara were born of Rākā (275.8 Gorakh; 259.8 Critical).

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[1] *A Volume of Studies in Indology presented to Prof. P.V. Kane*, Oriental Book Agency, Poona, 1941, pp. 472-487.

[2] Including the 12 already pointed out by Jacobi.

[3] *Cf. Rv.* X. 185.1 *Tvaṣṭā rūpāṇi pimśatu* etc. The meaning that P. L. Vaidya puts on this (Yuddha, Baroda, Vol. VI *Intro*. p. XXXII) that in the

On Rāvaṇa attacking his elder brother Kubera and snatching the Puṣpaka Vimāna from him, Kubera curses Rāvaṇa that the Vimāna will not carry him and will carry only the person who kills him in battle.

शशाप तं वैश्रवणो न त्वामेतद् वहिष्यति ।
यस्तु त्वां समरे हन्ता तमेवैतद् वहिष्यति ।

But such a statement is not found in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, where Rāvaṇa himself refers to his going in his Puṣpaka Vimāna. See his boasting of himself before Sītā, III 48.6. In Laṅkā, Hanumān sees him living in the Puṣpaka (Vālmīki V. 7-10). The Uttara Kāṇḍa, which describes Rāvaṇa's exploits, mentions his going in the Puṣpaka often.

274.37 Gorakh, 259.37 Critical: Then Kubera is said to be pleased with the qualities of Vibhīṣaṇa and to bestow on him the post of commander-in-chief of the Yakṣa and Rākṣasa armies which again is peculiar to the *Rāmopākhyāna*.

274.40 Gorakh, 259.40 Critical: While Vālmīki just suggests the significance of Rāvaṇa's name by giving him the epithet 'Lokarāvaṇa (Rāvaṇam loka-rāvaṇam III. 33.1)', or 'Rāvaṇam sarvabhūtānām' (III. 32.21), the *Rāmopākhyāna* gives the full derivation :

रावयामास लोकान् यत् तस्माद्रावण उच्यते[2] ।

Rāmopākhyāna, instead of Viśvāmitra, Tvaṣṭā arranges the marriage of Sītā with Rāma is wrong. The drift of the passege is against Vaidya's interpretation.

[1] The lines on Vibhīṣaṇa's un-Rākṣasa nature and the boons he calls for and secures, found in the *Rāmopākhyāna* are the same as those in the Uttarakāṇḍa of Vālmīki. See also Jacobi, *Op. Cit.* pp. 56-7.

[2] *Cf.* Vālmīki, Uttara, 16.37-39 (Kumbh) for a different explanation based on the 'rāvaṇa' or cry that he uttered under the weight of Mt. Kailāsa which he tried to lift and thereby frightened the world.

276.1 Gorakh, 260.1 Critical: The Gods who petition to Brahma for relief from Rāvaṇa, are said to do so with Agni as their leader, a detail which is an example of the exercise of his own fancy by the author of the *Rāmopākhyāna*.

In this same context, Brahmā asks the divine beings to take suitable incarnations on earth to aid Viṣṇu in his mission as Rāma. In addition to the Devas manifesting themselves among the Vānaras, the *Rāmopākhyāna* adds that a Gandharvī named Dundubhī was ordered by Brahmā to be born as the hunchback Mantharā to further the plans for Rāvaṇa's destruction (9.10, 15-16 Gorakh ; 9.10, 14-15 Critical).

तेषां समक्षं गन्धर्वीं दुन्दुभिं नाम नामतः ।
शशास वरदो देवो गच्छ कार्यार्थसिद्धये ॥
पितामहवचः श्रुत्वा गन्धर्वी दुन्दुभिः पुनः ।
मन्थरा मानुषे लोके कुब्जा समभवत्तदा ॥

* * *

एवं विधाय तत्सर्वं भगवान् लोकभावनः ।
मन्थरां बोधयामास यद्यत् कार्यं यथा यथा ॥
सा तद्वचः समाज्ञाय तथा चक्रे मनोजवा ।
इतश्चेतश्च गच्छन्ती वैरसन्धुक्षणे रता ॥[1]

which assigns her, apparently, a larger role than the one she has in Vālmīki. This whole arrangement about Mantharā cannot be traced to any of the three recensions of Vālmīki.

277.9-13 Gorakh, 261.9-13 Critical: The description of Rāma's qualities on the eve of the proposed coronation, given in the *Rāmopākhyāna* in five verses is based on the long one in the first two cantos of Ayodhyā in Vālmīki; almost all the attributes here can be traced to Vālmīki although the *Rāmopākhyāna* couches them in its own words, succintly; e.g.

अनुरक्तः प्रजाभिश्च प्रजाश्चाप्यनुरज्ञते । (II. 1-14)

in Vālmīki put into a single compound in the *Rāmopākhyāna*

सर्वानुरक्तप्रकृतिम् (11)

The *Rāmopākhyāna* adds also a few qualities but these too are also inspired by some of the passages in Vālmīki, e.g. Rāma being captivating even to the eyes of the unfriendly :

अमित्राणामपि दृष्टिमनोहरम् (11)

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[1] The Pātālakhaṇḍa of the *Padma-purāṇa*, in its Bengali recension, gives in ch. 15, this narrative of Brahmā asking the Gandharvī Dundubhī to be born as Mantharā; some lines here are common to the *Rāmopākhyāna* and the Pātālakhaṇḍa. See H. Sarma, 'Padma-purāṇa and Kālidāsa', Text, p. 91.

which compounds Vālmīki's two descriptions of Rāma as

पुंसां दृष्टिचित्तापहारिणम् (II. 3.27);
रिपूणामपि वत्सलम् (II. 21-6)

Indeed more and more examples of the skill of the author of the *Rāmopākhyāna* in bringing out in his own way the ideas and expressions in Vālmīki could be found all over the resume. In fact, the author of the *Rāmopākhyāna* knew Vālmīki very minutely by line, phrase and word, although to realise this we have sometimes to see all the three recensions of Vālmīki.

As soon as Daśaratha announces his resolve to crown Rāma, the *Rāmopākhyāna* says that Mantharā heard this royal announcement and went to Kaikeyī. (16). This may appear to be a deviation but it is really a concomitant of abridgement. But what follows this is a positive deviation. Kaikeyī is not said to retire to her anger-chamber and remain there in anger and tears, but is said to put on her best appearance with all her ornaments and meet Daśaratha privately, and talk to him with smile and sweet words (19-20 Gorakh ; 261.19-20. Critical.

In Daśaratha's words to her, the *Rāmopākhyāna* embodies a line (22) taken verbatim from Vālmīki :

अवध्यो वध्यतां कोऽद्य वध्यः कोऽद्य विमुच्यताम् ।

(II.10-31). As an example of how the *Rāmopākhyāna* puts Vālmīki in its own words may be cited the next line :

धनं ददाति कस्याद्य ह्रियतां कस्य वा पुनः । (23)

whose original in Vālmīki at the same place (31) is :

दरिद्रः को भवत्वाढ्यो द्रव्यवान् वाप्यकिञ्चनः ।

In Vālmīki, Daśaratha tells Kaikeyī :

बलमात्मनि जानन्ती (or) पश्यन्ती

(10.33; 11.10) and this is transferred to the description of Kaikeyī:

आत्मनो बलमाज्ञाय तत एनमुवाच ह,

which illustrates further the style adopted in this resume.

Reference was made to the *Rāmopākhyāna* making a drastic summary sometimes, rendering the narrative jerky ; the most prominent example of this is Bharata meeting Rāma in Citrakūṭa. The *Rāmopākhyāna* tells that Bharata met Rāma and in the very next line, that Rāma sent him back with his sandals (38, 39).

Instead of saying as in Vālmīki that Śūrpaṇakhā was disfigured in her ears and nose (*Karṇa-nāsā*), the *Rāmopākhyāna* says, in her nose and lips (Nikṛtta-nāsoṣṭhī, 45).

To illustrate how the *Rāmopākhyāna* elaborates comparatively less important things, attention may be drawn to Rāvaṇa's boastful words on seeing his disfigured sister (47-51). A similar elaboration is the geography of the region covered by Rāvaṇa as he goes to Mārīca for seeking his aid. In this, which follows immediately (54-56), the *Rāmopākhyāna* mentions Rāvaṇa passing Trikūṭa (which is his own mountain-range in Laṅkā on which his Capital stood) and then a mountain called Kāla, and reaching finally Gokarṇa. Gokarṇa is said to be the place where Mārīca is doing penance and a great holy spot dear to Śiva. All this is not in Vālmīki, where Gokarṇa appears as the place where, according to the Uttarakāṇḍa (VIII. 9.46), the three brothers, Rāvaṇa, Kumbhakarṇa and Vibhīṣaṇa did their penance.[1] Gokarṇa is mentioned in Vālmīki in the main body of the text in VI. 36-80 as the holy mountain on the sea-coast which Hanumān's father Kesarī went to, for killing Śambasādana.

Chapter 278 deals with Rāma's chase of the golden deer and Rāvaṇa carrying away Sītā. In the description of Rāvaṇa, the words referring to the unholy person in holy guise, अभव्यो भव्यरूपेण are from Vālmīki (46.9). In Sītā's spirited reply to Rāvaṇa, one of the comparisons which Sītā makes to impress upon Rāvaṇa how unworthy he is before Rāma (verse 40), is based, as Jacobi pointed out, on the first of the longer verses at the end of the canto here in Vālmīki (47.44, Surāgrya-sauvīrakayor yadantaram).

279.8-9 mention that as she was being carried away, Sītā made it a point to drop her ornaments wherever she passed over an Āśrama or Tīrtha. This is only a more specific statement of the general one in Vālmīki that from her body fell flowers and ornaments (52. 32-38). She then notices five monkeys on a mountain (*i.e.* Sugrīva and his four associates on Mālyavat) and drops to them her Uttarīya (not ornaments too as in Vālmīki).

The episode of Kabandha in the *Rāmopākhyāna* has some details not vouched for by Vālmīki. When Kabandha regains his original form, he says here that he is Viśvāvasu, who had become Kabandha because of a curse and punishment (42). This name Viśvāvasu for Kabandha is not in any recension of Vālmīki, all of them mentioning him only as Danu.

In the Sugrīva-Vālin episode in the next chapter (280) there are a few new details that may be noted: Although Vālmīki pays compliments to Tārā's knowledge, the detail that she knew the meanings of the sounds made by all living beings (*Sarvabhūta-rutajñā*, 19) is found only in the *Rāmopākhyāna*. Sugrīva is described in Vālmīki more than once as being accompanied by four monkeys, who are also referred to as his ministers ; but the names of these steadfast friends are not mentioned, except that of the chief one Hanumān. In the *Rāmopākhyāna* however, there is a specific statement that the four others referred to as Ministers, are Mainda, Dvivida, Hanumān and Jāmbavān (23). Although when Kabandha and others inform Rāma of Sugrīva, his four companions are not named, later, when Sugrīva goes for a second time to call Vālin for a duel, Sugrīva's companions who accompany him are named by Vālmīki as Hanumān, Nala, Nīla and Tāra. All the three recensions agree on this list which is completely different from that given in the *Rāmopākhyāna*.

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[1] Gorresio (III 36.18) and NW. (III. 36) include a brief reference to *Gokarṇa* and Rāvaṇa's long and strenuous penance there, in the Araṇyakāṇḍa itself.

If Tārā had any undue affection for Sugrīva, we can see it only when we read between the lines in Vālmīki, but the *Rāmopākhyāna*, here as elsewhere, makes explicit some ideas that are implicit in Vālmīki. The *Rāmopākhyāna* says that Vālin was jealous of Tārā's love for Sugrīva and discounted her words.

पर्यशङ्कत तामीर्षुः सुग्रीवगतमानसाम् । (25)

Also the statement here in the *Rāmopākhyāna* that Vālin brushed her aside roughly is at variance from the highly chivalrous words with which, in Vālmīki, he pats her, sticks to his resolve and takes leave of her.

That the author of the *Rāmopākhyāna* is a minute student of Vālmīki has often been demonstrated ; that he was also a capable author and not a mere summariser can be seen in what Vālin is made to tell Sugrīva on the latter's call : "You have been repeatedly defeated by me, and as you are too fond of life, I had also spared you, more so because you are my brother ; now, why this sudden hurry to die ?"

असकृत् त्वं मया पूर्वं निर्जितो जीवितप्रियः ।
मुक्तो ज्ञातिरिति ज्ञात्वा का त्वरा मरणे पुनः ॥ (27)

The *Rāmopākhyāna* does not have two attempts on the part of Sugrīva. Even as the duel of the first and single encounter is going on, because the on-lookers could not distinguish the two brothers in the movements in their hand to hand fight, the *Rāmopākhyāna* says that Hanumān put the mark of a garland round Sugrīva's neck. This is one more detail in variance with Vālmīki, according to whom it is Lakṣmaṇa who, at the instance of Rāma, puts the garland on Sugrīva before the latter's second expedition.

In the long list of Rākṣasa women posted for guarding Sītā in the Aśokavana, all sorts of physical aberrations are mentioned by Vālmīki but in the short list in the *Rāmopākhyana*, the author's fancy comes into play when he mentions (45) a demoness of three breasts, 'Tristanī', not seen in Vālmīki.

The author of the *Rāmopākhyāna*, the poet that he was, can also give a simile not to be found among the countless similes of Vālmīki.

Sītā tells the demoness-guards that she would fast and waste herself to death like a serpent on a palm-tree.

शोषयिष्यामि गात्राणि व्याली तालगता यथा । (51)

In the latter part of this same chapter of the *Rāmopākhyāna*, Trijaṭā consoles Sītā and conveys to her two things, one, what an elderly Rākṣasa named Avindhya, well-disposed towards Rāma, asked her (Trijaṭā) to communicate to Sītā; and two, a dream in which the success of Rāma and the doom of Rāvaṇa were seen (56-73). In Vālmīki the two things occur at two different and distant places and two different women characters are connected with the two reports. Trijaṭā's dream occurs early in Sundara (Ch. 27 Kumbh) and the report of what the elderly Rākṣasa said occurs in the Yuddha (Ch. 34, Kumbh) and the speaker in the latter episode is Saramā. The old minister (Mantri-vṛddha)[1] is called *Aviddha* twice in the Vulgate, but the *Rāmopākhyāna* reads the name as Avindhya; the N.W. text also reads it as Avindhya in only one place and Gorresio's does not name him at all, having in both places a different reading. Vālmīki has two verses on Aviddha's advice to Rāvaṇa[2], but the *Rāmopākhyāna* has eight verses, the basis of this expansion being the adverb 'bahu' in Vālmīki-अविद्धेन बहु भाषितः। The *Rāmopākhyāna* puts into this expansion some data about Rāvaṇa given in Vālmīki in another context, *viz.*, the curse of Kubera's son Nalakūbara, and the advance information that Rāma is coming with Sugrīva as his ally. Later in the *Rāmopākhyāna* (Ch. 282, 67), when Hanumān meets Sītā, the latter says she knew Hanumān was coming from what Avindhya had said before.

In Ch. 281, the *Rāmopākhyāna* describes Rāvaṇa approaching Sītā in the Aśokavana. He comes fully decked, looking verily like Spring incarnate :

वसन्त इव मूर्तिमान्, स कल्पवृक्षसदृशः (4-5)

this line as well as the next, on how, even with his decorations, Rāvaṇa was frightening like a shrine at the cremation ground—श्मशानचैत्यप्रतिमो भूषितोऽपि भयङ्करः (5) is repeated from Vālmīki (22.28).

In the exchange of words between Rāvaṇa and Sītā, many expressions run close to those in Vālmīki with a few verbatim reproductions, *e.g.* सीते पर्याप्तमेतावत्, तृणमन्तरतः कृत्वा, न चैवोपयिकी भार्या.

The originality and power of expression of the author of the *Rāmopākhyāna* is seen in this context also, *e.g.* in Rāvaṇa's reference to

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[1] Appendix passage found in some mss., Yuddha, Baroda, describes him (I.13) as the Superintendent of the ladies, Stryadhyakṣa; but this bit has several variants.

[2] P.L. Vaidya's statement that Avindhya is ignored by Vālmīki is thus wrong.

Sītā being infatuated with something which is the normal food of their Rākṣasa-class, *viz.* a man, Rāma.

आहारभूतमस्माकं राममेवानुरुध्यसे । (29)

Following its own sequence or re-arrangement of events in its description, the *Rāmopākhyāna* comes back to the Kiṣkindhā story in the next (ch. 282). The entire search by the South-bound party of monkeys and Hanumān's success in finding Sītā are told not in the natural sequence but as Hanumān's narration to Rāma, on their return. Svayamprabhā, whose cave they enter, is called here Prabhāvatī.

Instead of Vindhya and Mahendra mountains which, according to Vālmīki, the monkeys see on coming out of Svayamprabhā's cave, the mountains named Sahya, Malaya and Dardura are mentioned in the *Rāmopākhyāna* (43). When Sampāti informs the monkeys of Rāvaṇa and his location, the information, as given in Vālmīki in all the recensions, includes that of Sītā staying there in Laṅkā in captivity and under the guard of the Rākṣasīs; but in the *Rāmopākhyāna*, Sampāti bifurcates the information, tells them about Rāvaṇa's place but of Sītā, the giant-bird says that she may be there but it was not sure.

भवित्री तत्र वैदेही न मेऽस्त्यत्र विचारणा । (57)

About the middle of Ch. 283, the *Rāmopākhyāna* devotes a number of verses to Rāma discussing with the monkeys the problem of their large army crossing the sea and strangely, a proposal to cross by boats is mooted, discussed at some length and finally settled as impracticable and improper (26-29)[1]. This is completely foreign to Vālmīki in all the three recensions.

In Vālmīki, it is Vibhīṣaṇa, who suggests, on being asked by Hanumān and Sugrīva, that Rāma may supplicate through *Prāyopaveśa* the Lord of the Seas but in the *Rāmopākhyāna*, Rāma himself says, after dismissing the proposal to cross by boats, that he will adopt the method of *Prāyopaveśa* and adds in the same breath that if the Sea does not respond, he will dry it up with his arrows. The Lord of the Waters then, without any threat, appears before Rāma while he is still in his austerity ; and he appears before Rāma not directly as in Vālmīki but in a dream:

सागरस्तु ततः स्वप्ने दर्शयामास राघवम् । (33)

But where is the question of sleep and dream when Rāma was observing the *Prāyopaveśa* austerity?

The reason why Rāma himself proposed the *Prāyopaveśa* will be clear when we proceed further with the *Rāmopākhyāna*. We are told here immediately after the above episode, that it was after the building of Nala-setu that Vibhīṣaṇa, along with four associates, sought Rāma (6), which is a major deviation from Vālmīki in all the recensions.

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[1] These verses are found also in *Skānda*, Brahmakhaṇḍa 2.47-53.

In Vālmīki, in some South Indian mss., a duration of five days is mentioned for the completion of the causeway (VI. 22.66-70 Kumbh) and in the N.W. text three days are mentioned[1] ; and Gorresio's does not touch upon the days taken. While the *Rāmopākhyāna* also does not speak of the days taken to build the Setu, it says strangely that after its completion it took one month for the army to cross over to Laṅkā, by this bridge.

सोऽत्यक्रामन् महार्णवम् ।
ससैन्यस्सेतुना तेन मासेनैव नराधिप ॥

Chapter 284 opens with a description of the fortification of Laṅkā and the *Rāmopākhyāna* mentions a detail not traceable in Vālmīki, *viz.*, that the moats were *seven* in number (3). The only occasion where the fortification of Laṅkā is described in detail in Vālmīki is what Hanumān gives, soon after his return to Rāma (VI.3), and the only numerical detail found here, in all the recensions, is about the bridges over the moats which are given as four (Catvāraḥ Saṁkramāḥ, 16).

In Aṅgada's mission that follows upon this, the verse

अकृतात्मानमासाद्य राजानमनये रतम् । (11)

is taken from Sītā's words to Rāvaṇa, in Vālmīki (Sundara 21. 11), the latter half and the next verse being a paraphrase of the further lines spoken by Sītā in the same place.

The description of the Rākṣasas here as माषराशिसदृशैः (45) is after Vālmīki's description of Rāvaṇa sleeping in the Puṣpaka as seen by Hanumān-माषराशिप्रतीकाशम् (V.10.28, Kumbh).

Now to the actual battle. At the outset eight Rākṣasas[2] are named (2) of which only one, Praghasa is known in Vālmīki. Another list follows a few verses below, which again has new Rākṣasa-names (9)[3]. Another detail not found in Vālmīki which the *Rāmopākhyāna* gives here is that Rāvaṇa set up a formation of his forces called after *Uśanas*, the guru of Asuras, against which Rāma set the array called after *Bṛhaspati*, the guru of Devas (6,7). Prahasta is killed in the next chapter (286.1-5), strangely by Vibhīṣaṇa, whereas in all the recensions of Vālmīki, it is Nīla the monkey that accounts for him. In fact, in Vālmīki, except his playing a vital role in the startegy of the different encounters, notably that with Indrajit, Vibhīṣaṇa does not himself kill any Rākṣasa directly. Kumbhakarṇa engages almost all the fighters on Rāma's side, and eventually it is Rāma who brings him down in Vālmīki. But in the *Rāmopākhyāna* the exploit is credited to Lakṣmaṇa (287.17-18). Earlier at the very beginning of the battle, the *Rāmopākhyāna* mentions Vibhīṣaṇa, himself, remaining invisible and killing some Rākṣasas (285.3).[1]

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[1] This is so in some of the Purāṇas as we shall see later.

[2] This list is found in *Skānda*, Brahmakhaṇḍa, Setumāhātmya, Ch. 44. V.134; Parvaṇa, Patana (Pūtana in *Sk*.), Jambha (Jṛmbha, *Sk*.), Khara (a different one from Khara of Janasthāna), Krodhavaśa (?), Hari, Praruja (Prāruja, *Sk*.), Praghasa (Prahasta, *Sk*.).

[3] Nikharvaṭa, Tuṇḍa, Paṭuśa.

There are some interesting things coming up in the description of Indrajit's exploits on the battle-field (ch. 289). After Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa had been freed from the *Śara-bandha* cast by Indrajit, Vibhīṣaṇa tells Rāma that on the command of Kubera, a Guhyaka has come from Śveta with holy water which would enable them to see through magic and those that fight, keeping themselves invisible ; and then Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa and the chief monkeys wipe their eyes with that holy water.[2]

ततो विभीषणः पार्थ राममिक्ष्वाकुनन्दनम् ।
उवाच विज्वरं दृष्ट्वा कृताञ्जलिरिदं वचः ॥
इदमम्भो गृहीत्वा तु राजराजस्य शासनात् ।
गुह्यकोऽभ्यागतः श्वेतात् त्वत्सकाशमरिन्दम ॥
इदमम्भः कुबेरस्ते महाराजः प्रयच्छति ।
अन्तर्हितानां भूतानां दर्शनार्थं परन्तप ॥
अनेन मृष्टनयनो भूतान्यन्तर्हितान्युत ।
भवान् द्रक्ष्यति यस्मै च प्रदास्यति नरः स तु ॥
तथेति रामस्तद्वारि प्रतिगृह्याभिसंस्कृतम् ।
चकार नेत्रयोः शौचं लक्ष्मणश्च महामनाः ॥
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सुग्रीवजाम्बवन्तौ च हनुमानङ्गदस्तथा ।
मैन्दद्विविदनीलाश्च प्रायः प्लवगसत्तमाः ॥
तथा समभवच्चापि यदुवाच विभीषणः ।
क्षणेनातीन्द्रियाण्येषां चक्षूंष्यासन् युधिष्ठिर ॥

What is the source of this ? I think this goes to what we find in a briefer and less specific manner in Vālmīki in all the recensions, in the same context. We read in Vālmīki (Kumbh VI. 46, 34-35):

एवमुक्त्वा ततस्तस्य जलक्लिन्नेन पाणिना ।
सुग्रीवस्य शुभे नेत्रे प्रममार्ज विभीषणः ॥

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1. This is found in the same words in *Skānda*, Brahmakhaṇḍa, Setumāhātmya, Ch. 44 Vv. 13-5, 24-7.
2. Found in *Skānda*, *Op. Cit.*, Vv. 41-8.

ततः सलिलमादाय विद्यया परिजप्य च ।
सुग्रीवनेत्रे धर्मात्मा स ममार्ज विभीषणः ।।[1]

What the word Śveta[2] which occurs in the passage in the *Rāmopākhyāna* quoted above, is not clear; the only meaning possible is Mt. Kailāsa the abode of Kubera.

Rāvaṇa is then so much upset that he rushes to kill Sītā when the same old Avindhya is said to prevent him from that dastardly resolve. In Vālmīki the wise minister who is said to dissuade Rāvaṇa from this act is called Supārśva (Kumbh 93. 58-9). This is so in the Southern and N. W. texts, but in Gorresio alone (7260), it is Avindhya as in the *Rāmopākhyāna.*

The author of the *Rāmopākhyāna* gives himself some more freedom when he comes to the battle between Rāma and Rāvaṇa. While all Rākṣasa-warfare involves magic, as described by Vālmīki, the *Rāmopākhyāna* adds something new when it says that out of his own body, Rāvaṇa created hundreds of thousands of armed Rākṣasa-fighters. (Gorakh 290-5-6; Critical 274. 5-6) and to create greater confusion, Rāvaṇa took or made them assume the forms of Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa (8).

It is at the end of this magic-fight that Mātali comes with Indra's chariot[3] and at first, Rāma suspects that it may be another piece of magic by Rāvaṇa, a suspicion which Vibhīṣaṇa removes (15-16). This is absent from the Southern text of Vālmīki, but is supported by Gorresio's which has here eight verses on this suspicion. While Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa, the chief monkeys and Vibhīṣaṇa are all surprised, the monkeys discuss among themselves, and Sugrīva wants to examine the chariot. Vibhīṣaṇa comes forward and removes their fears about its genuiness (Gorresio 86. 11-18). The N. W. text does not include such a passage but gives one in the footnotes as read in one ms. with a different set of five verses on the same idea; in other mss. noted in the N.W. text, the whole idea is indicated by one additional line referring to the inspection of the chariot as directed by Vibhīṣaṇa (N. W. 83, 11. fn.)

In the description of the battle between Rāma and Rāvaṇa which follows, the *Rāmopākhyāna* has the lines (19-20 Gorakh)

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1. P.L. Vaidya's statement (*Op. Cit.*) that Vālmīki does not mention this magic water is therefore wrong.
2. The different variants recorded for this in the Critical edition show that the word had been a puzzle; one variant in nominative does its best by making it the name of the Gukyaka. As an ablative, it could refer to Mt. Kailāsa which is the provenance of Kubera or Guhyakas. The *Skānda* where the *Rāmopākhyāna*-text is reproduced omits the puzzling '*Śveta*' and reads instead 'Rāma'. (*Op. Cit.* 44.42)
3. Regarding the chariot, the expression 'Rathodāreṇa' is found ; the Critical edition has no note on the expression; it is perhaps an epic aberration for 'Rathena udāreṇa'

दशकन्धरराजसून्वोः तथा युद्धमभून्महत् ।
अलब्धोपममन्यत्र तयोरेव तथाभवत् ॥

This is clearly based on the well-known verse on the same subject in Vālmīki (VI. 110.22):

गगनं गगनाकारं सागरः सागरोपमः ।
रामरावणयोर्युद्धं रामरावणयोरिव ॥

This *Rāmopākhyāna*-verse and its original in Vālmīki have been discussed at some length by Jacobi, Hopkins and Sukthankar; the Critical edition relegates this verse to the footnote (274, note 1297-9) and doubt has also been cast on the genuineness of the *Rāmāyaṇa*-verse itself. But more of this can be discussed only on another occasion.

Chapter 21. After the destruction of Rāvaṇa and the gift of Laṅkā to Vibhīṣaṇa, the *Rāmopākhyāna* says that with Vibhīṣaṇa leading, the old minister Avindhya brought Sītā to Rāma (6).

According to Vālmīki, in all the recensions, Rāma insisted, against her wish, that Sītā should bathe and bedeck herself before she comes to his presence and she obeys. In the *Rāmopākhyāna*, she is brought in the same condition of suffering, with dusty body and garment(9), the condition in which Sītā desired first, according to Vālmīki, to meet Rāma.

The *Rāmopākhyāna*, it must be noted, has the whole episode of Rāma first repudiating and then accepting Sītā, but without the fire-ordeal. The Gods and Daśaratha gather and Sītā swears on the gods Wind (Life Breath), Fire, Sky, Water and Earth and the celestial voices of Wind, Fire, Water (Varuṇa) are heard testifying to the purity of Sītā and asking Rāma to take her. Brahmā explains to Rāma that because of Nalakūbara's curse, Rāvaṇa could not have laid hands on her; and he and Daśaratha command Rāma to take her. It may be noted that all the recensions of Vālmīki have the fire-ordeal. In Vālmīki, in the main version in the Yuddha, it is Agni, who hands over Sītā, but strangely in the Uttarakāṇḍa, in an account by Rāma himself to his brothers preparatory to his resolve to leave Sītā in the forests, it is said that Mahendra gave her back to him.

The author of the *Rāmopākhyāna* does not forget his favourite old minister of Laṅkā, Avindhya, who, in his scheme of things, occupies a place next to Vibhīṣaṇa and on a par with Trijaṭā in helping the cause of Rāma, from within the enemy side. So he specially adds here that Rāma gave a boon to Avindhya(40) and honoured Trijaṭā.

On the revival of the monkeys who had died in the battle, the *Rāmopākhyāna* has a difference from Vālmīki. While in all recensions of Vālmīki, Rāma asks and gets this boon from Indra, in the *Rāmopākhyāna* it is Brahmā whom Rāma asks and who grants this boon (42-44).

As regards Hanumān, it is after the coronation in Ayodhyā, that according to Vālmīki in all the recensions, Rāma makes Sītā honour him with the present of a necklace. But the *Rāmopākhyāna* mentions that in Laṅkā itself, Sītā blesses him that he will live for all time, along with the glory of Rāma (44-5). In Vālmīki such a boon is bestowed on Hanumān by Rāma in the Uttarakāṇḍa (40. 18-21 Kumbha).

It may be noted that in Hanumān's own narration of the *Rāmāyaṇa* in the earlier episode of Saugandhikāharaṇa, it is at the coronation in Ayodhyā that these blessings are given to him; there are also some differences in that account; it is Hanumān himself who asks for the boons that he may live as long as Rāma's glory lasts, and Rāma grants it. And Sītā blesses that whatever comforts and enjoyments he wishes for would attend upon him (III. 148. 16-18).

On reaching the Indian shore, the *Rāmopākhyāna* makes Rāma stop for a time at the very spot where he performed *Prāyopaveśa* and gives the monkeys lavish presents and gives them leave (54-6). In Vālmīki, Rāma asks Vibhīṣaṇa on the Laṅkā-coast itself to honour the Vānaras suitably and as he takes leave, all of them want to accompany Rāma to Ayodhyā. Rāma takes them all on the Puṣpaka and starts for Ayodhyā.

At Kiṣkindhā, they halt according to Vālmīki to pick up the Vānara women, but according to the *Rāmopākhyāna* Rāma instals Aṅgada as Crown Prince (59). In Vālmīki, in all the recensions, Aṅgada had already been crowned at Rāma's behest by Sugrīva, as soon as he, Sugrīva, was himself made lord of Kiṣkindhā (II.26. 36-37, Kumbh; IV. 19. 37-38 N. W.; IV.25. 36-37 Gorresio).

The last detail that we may note in the *Rāmopākhyāna* is the date of the coronation. It says that Rāma's coronation took place under the constellation presided over by Viṣṇu, which is Śravaṇa ततस्तं वैष्णवे शूरं नक्षत्रेऽभिमतेऽहनि (66). In Vālmīki, in none of the recensions is there any clear mention of the day and constellation in the actual description of the coronation, but according to all the recensions, Hanumān, when breaking the news of Rāma's return to Bharata and his talk with Bharata, says that Rāma was tarrying for the night at Bharadvāja's Āśrama and on the next day, because of Puṣya-yoga, he will enter the City (VI.129.58 Kumbh; 110.58 Gorresio; 107.103 N.W.). It is well-known that the coronation as Crown Prince in Ayodhyā kāṇḍa was arranged for *Puṣya*, which is repeatedly mentioned. Indeed Royal coronation is called *Puṣyābhiṣeka* in texts[1]. That the expression *Vaiṣṇava* which is retained in the Critical edition proved engimatic is seen by its many variants that are recorded. However that along with Puṣya which was the general rule, Śravaṇa was also availed of for the coronation, is known[1] from some authorities like the *Sāmavidhāna Brāhmaṇa* (III. 57) and the *Bodhāyana Gṛhyaśeṣa Sūtra* (I.23); the *Viṣṇudharmottara* and *Garuḍa Purāṇas* mention also Rohiṇī, Ārdrā, Dhaniṣṭhā, the Uttarās, Hasta etc. See Anantadeva's *Rājadharmakaustubha* (GOS. LXXII), section 30 on Abhiṣeka-kāla.

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[1] See 14th in the *Atharva Pariśiṣṭas*.

(4)

While the above are regular shorter or longer narratives of the story of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, imbedded in the *Mahābhārata*, or continuous passages of varying length taken from parallel contexts in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, there are other places where the Great Epic shows its knowledge of Vālmīki's Epic and uses its episodes as illustrations and even cites actual ślokas from Vālmīki, mentioning his name. These are of as much significance and interest as the above-noticed sections. In fact, these latter-mentioned passages and references to and citations from the *Rāmāyaṇa* are more integral to the text of the *Mahābhārata* and are far less subject to suspicion.

1. In the Āraṇya parvan, to illustrate Dhṛtarāṣṭra's affection for his sons, the story of Indra seeing Kāmadhenu weep for her progeny on earth, the cattle, is told (Kumbh 9; Critical 10). Indra once saw Surabhi in tears, she drew Indra's attention to the farmer tilling his soil on the earth and lashing and driving callously the weak bullocks at the plough and said that she was unable to bear the sight of her children being tortured like that. This is just a slightly altered version, with verbal parallels, of the same incident of Indra and Surabhi given in Vālmīki, Ayodhyā (74 Southern; 76 Gorresio; 80 N.W.), told by Bharata to Kaikeyī to impress upon her the love of Kausalyā for her only son and her consequent suffering due to her separation from him.

2. The killing of the demon Kirmīra by Bhīma in the Kāmyaka forest in the same parvan (Kumbh 11; Critical 12): At a stage of the duel, the two fighters have to uproot trees and fight with them and the poet is reminded of the fight of Vālin and Sugrīva, using trees in the same manner. The interest of the passage does not stop with this; Vālin and Sugrīva are said to fight over *Śrī* according to the Critical and *Strī* according to the Vulgate.

तद्वृक्षयुद्धमभवत् महीरुहविनाशनम् ।
वालिसुग्रीवयोर्भ्रात्रोर्यथा श्री(स्त्री)काङ्क्षिणोः पुरा ॥ (47)

Both the readings, assigning the cause for the fight to *Śrī* or *Strī*, have their appropriateness.

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[1] राजानमभिषेचयेत् तिष्येन श्रवेणन वा ।

3. The Pāṇḍavas living in the forests meet a number of sages (Kumbh 25; Critical 26); of them Mārkaṇḍeya (verses 7-10) tells Yudhiṣṭhira that the sufferings they were undergoing remind him of Rāma, son of Daśaratha, steadfast in his vow of *Satya*, who retired to the forest to keep his father's promise. But what is surprising in Mārkaṇḍeya's reference is that he says that he met Rāma during the latter's stay near Ṛśyamūka hill and refers to Rāma as having subdued Yama or Maya and Namuci; of none of these do we have any trace in the *Rāmāyaṇa*[1].

4. Kumbh 83.65, Critical 83.62. In the long account of Tīrthas, Śṛṅgaberapura is mentioned as the holy spot where Rāma crossed the Ganges.

ततो गच्छेत्कुरुश्रेष्ठ श्रृङ्गवेरपुरं महत् ।
यत्र तीर्णो महाराज रामो दाशरथिः पुरा ॥

5. In the Droṇa parvan, the way Droṇa's death was managed is not free from blame. In the text itself, Arjuna, his dearest pupil, is deeply upset about it and among his words here is a verse which says that because of this un-dhārmic act, the ill-fame of the Pāṇḍavas will remain for all time like that of Rāma through his killing of Vālin.

स्थिरं स्थास्यति चाकीर्तिः त्रैलोक्ये सचराचरे ।
रामे वालिवधाद् यद्वत् एवं द्रोणे निपातिते ॥

(197. 36-37 Kumbh ; 196. 35-36 Gorakh). The Critical relegates the verse to the footnote.

6. A reference in the *Mahābhārata* to the *Rāmāyaṇa* which requires serious consideration is what occurs in Śalya Parvan (Kumbh 31.10; Critical 30.10). The context is the hiding of Duryodhana in the pond called, ironically, after Dvaipāyana and the Pāṇḍavas going there in search of Duryodhana. Then follows a series of verses by Kṛṣṇa on how in the past several Asuras and Rākṣasas who had adopted Māyā had been killed by adopting the same method of Māyā (Kriyābhyupāya or Kriyāyoga); and after citing Indra killing several *Daityas* and *Dānavas*, Vāmana subduing Bali, the killing of Hiraṇyākṣa and Hiraṇyakaśipu and Rāma killing Rāvaṇa and all his followers is thus mentioned:

तथा पौलस्त्यतनयो रावणो नाम राक्षसः ।
रामेण निहतो राजन् सानुबन्धः सहानुगः ।
क्रियया योगमास्थाय तथा त्वमपि विक्रम ॥

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[1] But see above p. 5 on the association of Mārkaṇḍeya with Rāma in the statement that the Rāma-incarnation took place with Mārkaṇḍeya as the *Ṛṣi*-guide or teacher (Mārkaṇḍeya-purassaraḥ).

It should not be understood from this that Rāma, the exemplar of *Satya* and *Dharma*, swerved in any manner from the norms of heroic warfare; what is meant is the very basic and special means that the Lord, Himself the speaker here in his *Avatāra* as Kṛṣṇa, had to devise and adopt to do away with these *Asuras* and *Rākṣasas*, each one of whom had protected himself and his life by some special boons gained by his penances. Thus for killing Hiraṇyakaśipu the Lord had to manifest himself as neither man nor animal, at neither day nor night and neither within a place nor without. So also Rāvaṇa who had secured the boon of life-immunity from Devas and all other categories of beings, had ignored Man as beneath his notice and the Lord had to come down as Man to kill Rāvaṇa.

7. In the Rājadharma section of the Śāntiparvan (95. 14-15 Kumbh; 96 fn. 228 Critical), when explaining *Dharma-vijaya* and the code that only those who are equally equipped in respect of arms, chariot etc. should fight each other, reference is made to *Rāma-Rāvaṇa-yuddha* in which Rāma and his associates fought on foot and Rāvaṇa, from his chariot and to remove the disadvantage on Rāma's side, Indra's chariot was sent to Rāma. This passage is relegated to the footnote in the Critical.

8. The Āpaddharma in Śānti has the wonderful Gṛdhra-Gomāyu-Saṁvāda in the cremation ground, over the dead body of a child, with the alternating pleadings of *rāga* and *virāga*, love and detachment. The jackal which wants the lamenting parents to tarry till nightfall stresses love and hope and the foolishness of leaving the body of the dead boy immediately, as there is every chance of the boy coming back to life; and to reinforce its last statement the jackal says: " So did the dead Brahman boy come back to life, when Rāma killed Śambuka".

श्रूयते शम्बुके शूद्रे हते ब्राह्मणदारकः ।
जीवितो धर्ममासाद्य रामात् सत्यपराक्रमात् ॥

(152.67 Kumbh; 149.62 Critical).

This, like some other data dealt with already, shows that the Uttarakāṇḍa of Vālmīki as it is, was also well-known to the authors of of the *Mahābhārata*.

9. The following would serve as a good example of didactic verses of the one Epic being found in the other and which go perhaps to a common heritage of such verses from which both drew. In Mokṣadharma (173. 16-17 Kumbh; 168. 15-6 Critical), we have two verses on the impermanence of our associations with kith and kin:

यथा काष्ठं च काष्ठं च समेयातां पयोनिधौ ।
समेत्य च व्यपेयातां तद्वद्भूतसमागमः ॥

एवं भार्या च पुत्रश्च ज्ञातयश्च धनानि च ।
समेत्य व्यपधावन्ति ध्रुवो ह्येषां विनाभवः ॥

which are the same as what Rāma speaks forth in Vālmīki, Ayodhyā, when Bharata's party come to Citrakūṭa (105. 26-7 Kumbh; 114. 12-13 Gorresio; 119. 26-27 N.W) with the last quarters of the two verses being different. Although meaning the same thing, the *Mahābhārata* reads the last foot of the second verse as

विप्रयोगो हि तैर्ध्रुवम्

but this is also from Vālmīki who has in Uttarakāṇḍa the following spoken by Lakṣmaṇa to Rāma who was dejected at his own abandonment of Sītā:

तस्मात् पुत्रेषु दारेषु मित्रेषु च धनेषु च ।
नातिप्रसङ्गः कर्तव्यो विप्रयोगो हि तैर्ध्रुवम् ॥ (VII. 52.12)

10. In the Dānadharma, in the *Vipulopākhyāna*, there is an interesting foil for the episode of Indra's misbehaviour with Ahalyā and his failure in a similar adventure which he tried with Ruci, wife of Devaśarman, owing to the extra-ordinary power and vigilance of Devaśarman's pupil, Vipula. Vipula reprimands Indra sternly and reminds him of his earlier misbehaviour at sage Gautama's Āśrama and the sage sending him away with his body marked with the female vital organ:

गौतमेनासि यन्मुक्तो भगाङ्कपरिचिह्नितः ॥
(76.21 Kumbh; 41.21 Critical)

The last-mentioned punishment of Indra by Gautama has come down in popular tradition, but is not found in Vālmīki. The *Mahābhārata*-passage noted above provides the earliest textual reference to it, so far known.[1] Regarding other aspects of this punishment for this offence of *Guru-talpa-gamana*, I would invite attention to my discussion of this in my 'Rāmāyaṇa-Quotations and Textual Criticism'.[2]

11. The idea that I have been putting forth so far that Rāma was one of the leading exemplars of an ideal ruler and observer of *Rāja-dharma* and that his story was well-known to the *Mahābhārata* is borne out by two more passages that I will point out now.

In the Āśvamedhika parvan, where Yudhiṣṭhira, after establishment as monarch, is persuaded by Vyāsa to perform sacrifices, chiefly Aśvamedha, he refers as part of the persuasion, to the performance of Aśvamedha by Rāma, son of Daśaratha. (39. Kumbh; 39. Critical).

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1. It occurs in some of the Purāṇas we shall notice.
2. *Melanges d' Indianisme*, a *la memoire de Louis Renou*, Paris, 1968, p. 603.

12. The second one is a reference in the same Parvan (15.2 Kumbh; App. 1 Critical) to Yudhiṣṭhira ruling like Manu, Rāma and Bharata:

यथा मनुर्महाराजो रामो दाशरथिर्यथा ।

followed by a description of Yudhiṣṭhira's exemplary rule on the lines of the proverbial *Rāmarājya.* This passage is relegated to the Appendix in the Critical edition.

13. There are two more passages in the *Mahābhārata* which I have kept last because of their special significance. They are actual quotations from the *Rāmāyaṇa* and mention the author's name as Vālmīki and Bhārgava. Jacobi and others have discussed these and I have discussed further one of these citations in my paper 'Rāmāyaṇa-Quotations and Textual Criticism' already referred to.

(i) Weber drew attention to the passage:

श्लोकश्चायं पुरा गीतो भार्गवेण महात्मना ।
राजानं प्रथमं विन्देत् ततो भार्यां ततो धनम् ।
राजन्यसति लोकस्य कुतो भार्या कुतो धनम् ॥

which occurs in the Rājadharma section of the Śānti parvan in the chapter on the need for a king (XII. 57.40, Vulgate and Critical). This has been usually referred to Vālmīki, Ayodhyā 67-10 or 11 (Gorresio 69-10), having similar meaning, occurring as part of the well-known canto in which on the death of Daśaratha, the evils of anarchy (Arājaka) are set forth in a series of verses. But as the verse occurs in the same form as cited in the *Hitopadeśa* (Mitralābha 200), the likelihood of its belonging to the *Rāmāyaṇa* in some version of it is not ruled out or what is more likely it may belong to an early text on Rājanīti ascribed to Uśanas (Bhārgava, Śukra).

(ii) The other quotation mentions the name Vālmīki and runs thus:

अपि चायं पुरा गीतः श्लोको वाल्मीकिना भुवि ।
न हन्तव्याः स्त्रिय इति यद् ब्रवीषि प्लवङ्गम ॥
सर्वकालं मनुष्येण व्यवसायवता सदा ।
पीडाकरममित्राणां यत् स्यात् कर्तव्यमेव तत् ॥

These words are spoken by Indrajit when he is about to slay a Māyā-Sītā and as reply to Hanumān who remonstrates against his base act of killing a woman (VI. 81.29, Southern text). The verse occurs in the Southern and Gorresio, without the third line 'Sarvakālam manuṣyeṇa etc.' But according to the N.W text (VI. 59.29), which has this line, it is found in six of the ten mss. used for the edition. Jacobi points out three flaws[1] in this line, none of which is substantial enough to consider it as an addition interpolated by the *Mahābhārata* author when quoting the other two lines from Vālmīki. The chief reason why I consider it as a genuine line is, apart from the ms. evidence recorded in N.W., the question why such a line, if it is not genuine, should be added at all by anybody, for it does not really add much to the idea.

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[1] *Op. cit.* pp. 54-5.

(5)

Another class of material which is in the *Rāmāyaṇa* and is perhaps repeated from there in the *Mahābhārata* relates to the subject of polity, cosmogony etc. In polity, the series of enquiries by Rāma to Bharata, when the latter meets him in Citrakūṭa, well-known as the *Kaccit-sarga*, is found also in the beginning of the Sabhā parvan where sage Nārada makes the same enquiry of Yudhiṣṭhira. As shown in the Critical and its Notes, 37 stanzas are common to the two *Kaccit-sargas* of Vālmīki and Vyāsa.

In the Ādi parvan, as Sukthankar has pointed out, the account of cosmogony (I.60. 54-67, Critical) has about 30 lines which are identical with Vālmīki. III. 14. 17-32, Jaṭāyus' description to Rāma of the creation of Vultures and other birds. These, by the very nature of their subject-matter, may go to a common source of both.[1]

The third is a list of sins. In Vālmīki, Ayodhyā (75 Southern), when Bharata returns and learns about Rāma's exile, he laments, curses himself and says that whoever was responsible for Rāma's departure is culpable of sins and in this connection enumerates a series of sins.

A parallel context occurs in the *Mahābhārata*, where Arjuna gives a list of sins and says that he would be culpable of these sins if he did not kill Jayadratha before sun-set next day (Droṇaparvan, 74 Southern; 51 Critical). There are several lines and sins common to the two Epics in these two places.

These sins and this method of imprecation and self-condemnation are also obviously part of the common heritage of epic poetry.

(6)

The foregoing survey of the *Rāmāyaṇa*-material in the *Mahābhārata* thus shows:

1. There are in the *Mahābhārata* shorter or longer narratives of the *Rāmāyaṇa*-story.

2. There are also shorter or longer passages of pure literary nature showing the influence or assimilation of passages of Vālmīki.

3. Regarding the Rāma-narratives in the Great Epic, unity of authorship can be postulated only for a few of them; as regards others—each one of them seems to have come from a different author,

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[1] As we shall see later, these occur also in one of the Purāṇas.

showing as it does, its own style and method of assimilating the idea or working in the expressions of Vālmīki.

4. In contrast to the above, the passages which have passing references to *Rāmāyaṇa*-episodes by way of simile or other illustration or justification of acts and which have actual citations from Vālmīki with the mention of his name stand on a separate and safer footing and seem more integral to the text of the *Mahābhārata.*

5. In the case of all these narratives, borrowals, references and citations, there is a good deal of data of interest for the textual criticism of the *Rāmāyaṇa.*

6. The *Rāmāyaṇa* text (s) reflected in the above cases included the Uttarakāṇḍa and the longer verses, *i.e.*, a text of Vālmīki as we have known it.

7. And in this last-mentioned respect, all the three recensions of the *Rāmāyaṇa* have to be taken into account, as all of them are reflected in the *Rāmāyaṇa* material in the *Mahābhārata.*

8. Lastly, what I have tried to show above, supporting the views of Jacobi and Sukthankar will, I hope, disprove the very recent and novel contention of Dr. P.L. Vaidya, who has edited some of the Kāṇḍas of the Vālmīki *Rāmāyaṇa* for the Oriental Institute, Baroda, that the '*Rāmakathā* known to *Mahābhārata,* Āraṇyaka is centuries older than Vālmīki's poem' and as Vālmīki's poem 'continued to exercise the popular mind', 'the old and primitive story of Rāma as in *Mahābhārata* was ignored by the people'.[1]

II

We now come to the *Harivaṁśa*, which is considered as a supplement (*Khila*) to the *Mahābhārata.* Like the Uttarakāṇḍa which supplies all the geneological stories of Rākṣasas and Vānaras required for understanding the references to them in the main body of the Epic, the *HV* also furnishes, as this name, among the several it has, shows, the myths, cosmogony etc. forming the background of the *Mahābhārata.*

The story of the Rāma-incarnation figures in the first series of stories of Viṣṇu's manifestations (Ch. 41 Citraśālā Press edn.). This portion of *HV* tallies with the stories of Viṣṇu's Avatāras given by Bhīṣma in the Arghāharaṇa section of the Sabhā parvan; the Critical edition of the *Mahābhārata* does not include the section in that place

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1. This is from a letter of his dated 22-9-71. See also his Introduction to the Yuddha edited by him for Baroda, Vol. VI, pt. 3. p. XXXII. Vaidya notes only seven points of difference between Vālmīki and the *Rāmopākhyāna*, while there are actually several, as I have pointed out. Out of the seven mentioned by him, he is wrong on nearly half, as I have shown; of the rest, at least two are due to condensation and 'telescoping'. Also when Vaidya removes the Vālmīki *Rāmāyaṇa* from Itihāsa and tries to put it an a par with Sarvasena's *Harivijaya* (why this of all poems?), he is committing an excess!

whereas the Critical edition of the *HV*, produced under the same auspices, includes it in the *HV* (Ch. 31. 110 ff.)

In the Introduction to the Critical edition of the *HV* mentioned above, P. L. Vaidya says (pp. xlviii-xlix) that it is from the *HV* that the accounts of Avatāras by Bhīṣma in the Arghāharaṇa should have been borrowed. The reading 'Viśvāmitra-purassaraḥ' which I stressed as the correct reading when dealing with this section under *Mahābhārata* is supported by *HV* and its Critical edn.

The second context in *HV* where we have some *Rāmāyaṇa*-material is the one in which Nārada represents to Viṣṇu that although several Asuras had been removed, there were yet some more and thus leads to the story of Kamsa. Nārada starts on the origin of the city of Mathurā in the region called Madhuvana, ruled over by Madhu and his son Lavaṇa. He then proceeds to describe Lavaṇa's activities. When Rāma, son of Daśaratha, knower of *Dharma* and the terror of Rākṣasas, was ruling in Ayodhyā, Lavaṇa sent a harsh-speaking messenger to Rāma in Ayodhyā criticising Rāma's killing of Rāvaṇa. Lavaṇa, like Devil quoting scripture, said that for a person like Rāma who was living the life of a recluse in the forests, it was a despicable thing to have killed Rāvaṇa and that too for the sake of a woman. Rāma replied that his brother Śatrughna would take care of the impudent Lavaṇa. Then follows an account of the fight between Lavaṇa and Śatrughna and the death of the Asura.

All this is retained in the Critical edition of the *HV*. But in the Uttarakāṇḍa of the *Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa* where the story of the destruction of Lavaṇa is narrated, there is no mention of his sending a message or messenger to Rāma (VII 61 ff Southern).

The third reference in the *HV* to the *Rāmāyaṇa* is an interesting one and has been mentioned by historians of Sanskrit Drama. It occurs in the Vulgate text in the Viṣṇu parvan, in the Vajranābha-Pradyumna story and the marriage of the latter with Prabhāvatī, the daughter of the former and the infiltration of the Yādavas into the city of the Asura Vajranābha in the guise of a troupe of actors. A wonderful divinely gifted actor (Naṭa) named Bhadranāman visited the Yādavas on the occasion of the Aśvamedha performed by Vasudeva. This actor Bhadranāman is described as delighting the whole city of Dvārakā with his performance of the *Rāmāyaṇa* which had been dramatised. The Bālakāṇḍa-episode of Ṛśyaśṛṅga, Lomapāda and Śāntā and the story of Rāma and his brothers were portrayed by them under his direction (93.5-8, Citraśālā):

ततः स ननृते तत्र वरदत्तो नटस्तथा ।
स्वपुरे पुरवासीनां परं हर्षं समादधत् ॥
रामायणं महाकाव्यमुद्दिश्यं नाटकीकृतम् ।
जन्म विष्णोरमेयस्य राक्षसेन्द्रवधेप्सया ॥

लोमपादो दशरथ ऋष्यशृङ्गं महामुनिम् ।
शान्तामप्यानयामास गणिकाभिः सहानघ ॥
रामलक्ष्मणशत्रुघ्ना भरतश्चैव भारत ।
ऋष्यशृङ्गश्च शान्ता च तथारूपैर्नटैः कृताः ॥

Then Vajranābha, hearing of this Naṭa, invites him and his players to his city Vajrapura and in the festival in that city, they put on other shows, chiefly the story of Rambhā going as an Abhisārikā to meet Nalakūbara, Rāvaṇa intercepting her and Nalakūbara cursing Rāvaṇa, an episode referred to in the body of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and elaborated in the Uttarakāṇḍa and having a basic importance to the main story of the *Rāmāyaṇa* (*Ib*. 28-31).

रम्भाभिसारं कौबेरं नाटकं ननृतुस्ततः ।
शूरो रावणरूपेण रम्भावेषं मनोवती ॥
नलकूबरस्तु प्रद्युम्नः साम्बस्तस्य विदूषकः ।
कैलासो रूपितश्चापि मायया यदुनन्दनैः ॥
शापश्च दत्तः क्रुद्धेन रावणस्य दुरात्मनः ।
नलकूबरेण च यथा रम्भा चाप्यथ सान्त्विता ॥
एतत्प्रकरणं वीरा ननृतुर्यदुनन्दनाः ।
नारदस्य मुनेः कीर्तिं सर्वज्ञस्य महात्मनः ॥

The Critical edition of the *HV* omits the whole sub-section where this occurs. It may, however, be noted that this part of the *HV*, including the enactment of 'Rambhābhisāra' by Bhadranaṭa is the source for the play *Pradyumnābhyudaya* (*TSS*. 8) of Ravivarman, king of Quilon (born 1265 A.D.).[1]

III

(1)

The account of the *Rāmāyaṇa*-story in the different Purāṇas and the influence of Vālmīki on this literature may be begun with the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*[2], which could be taken after the account of the *Harivaṁśa* because of the common subject of Viṣṇu's manifestations. However, there is no specially noteworthy material on our subject in the *Viṣṇu*. In IV. 4 the Rāmāvatāra is set forth in very brief outline, the only notable feature being the medium of prose adopted here. Tāṭakā is spelt Tāṭikā (41). Ahalyā is said to be purified by the mere look of Rāma (42). The Uttarakāṇḍa-story also figures here. In I. 9.141, Lakṣmī is said to beome Sītā in Viṣṇu's Avatāra as Rāma.

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[1] Keith considers that these drama-episodes in *HV*. may be placed in the 2nd or 3rd cent. A.D., *Skt. Drama*, p. 28.

[2] Venkateswara Press edition 1910-11.

(2)

The *Śrīmad Bhāgavata*[1], which may be dealt with after the *Viṣṇu* is no doubt modelled after the *Viṣṇu* but its treatment is unique to itself. Its account of Rāma and the *Rāmāyaṇa* soars high above the matter-of-fact statement in the *Viṣṇu*. The subject extends, in the *Bhāgavata*, to three chapters, 10-12, 9th Skandha, in the account of the Sūryavaṁśa kings. This is a masterly review, if we may call it so, which reveals also what vital elements in Vālmīki struck the great mind that produced the *Bhāgavata*.

First, it may be noted that the *Bhāgavata* says that *Rāmacaritra* has been sung by many Ṛṣis (10.2). Verse 4 in long Sragdharā metre puts the whole course of the story in a tablet as it were, which does not neglect when mentioning the incidents, the high moral ideals or the tenderness and pathos or the image of Rāma's excelling prowess or the divine mission of the *Avatāra*. While the texture and rhythm of the lines are the author's own, he does embody now and then Vālmīki's ideas and words. *E.g.* the epithet of Sītā as Rāma came with her to Ayodhyā—'Anurūpa-guṇa-śīla-vayo'ṅgarūpām' (8) is after Vālmīki, Sundara V. 16.6, Hanumān's approbation on seeing Sītā:

तुल्यशीलवयोवृत्तां तुल्याभिजनलक्षणाम् ।

Rāma leaving for the forests giving up kingdom, affluence, dear ones and friends and the palace and city and its comparison to a detached soul giving up even the life-breaths, brings out Rāma's own declaration in this context before Kaikeyī that she should know him to be the equal of Ṛṣis, intent solely on Dharma:

विद्धि मामृषिभिस्तुल्यं केवलं धर्ममास्थितम् । (II. 19-20)

The abject state of mind in which, after Sītā's loss, Rāma went about in the forests, Śuka says, was to demonstrate to the world that such would be the condition of those who indulge in the thing called woman.

स्त्रीसङ्गिनां गतिमिति प्रथयंश्चचार ।

When Rāvaṇa presents himself before Rāma, Rāma tells him that like inviolable Time (Kāla) he, Rāma, will give Rāvaṇa the fruit of the latter's actions (22). The comparison of Rāma here with 'Kāla, alaṅghya-vīrya' may be compared with what Rāma tells Lakṣmaṇa in Vālmīki, Āraṇya, about himself, once his anger is roused (III. 63.77):

यथा जरा यथा मृत्युः यथा कालो यथा विधिः ।
नित्यं न प्रतिहन्यन्ते सर्वभूतेषु लक्ष्मण ॥
तथाहं क्रोधसंयुक्तः * * ॥

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[1] Kumbhakonam edition, T.R. Krishnacharya, printed at Nirnaya Sagar Press, Bombay, 1916.

After the fall of Rāvaṇa, Śuka says simply that Rāma saw Sītā in Aśokavana under the Śimśapā tree, in the same condition in which she had been during separation and took pity on her (anvakampata); her face beamed on seeing him and taking her on the Vimāna, he sped to Ayodhyā. This is a marked deviation from Vālmīki. Soon in connection with Bharata, whom Rāma meets immediately after, Rāma is significantly described a 'Mahākāruṇika' (35).

Śuka devotes five verses to *Rāmarājya* which converted Tretā yuga into Kṛta yuga. Rāma was 'Sarva-bhūta-sukhāvaha' (52), one who brought happiness to every being; unless a subject wanted to die, death did not come to him (64); and Rāma taught by his own example of how to live the godly life of a householder:

एकपत्नीव्रतधरः राजर्षिचरितः शुचिः ।
स्वधर्मं गृहमेधीयं शिक्षयन् स्वयमाचरत् ॥ (55)

Chapter 11 sums up the Uttarakāṇḍa-story. Once, although the victor of the whole world, Rāma himself (not a spy of his), says Śuka, moved about *incognito* in the night in the city, heard some thing being spoken about his wife and abandoned her (8-10).

Commenting on Sītā's final disappearance and Rāma's inability to control his grief, although he was a man of self-control, Śuka says: 'The man-woman association is like this; it is everywhere fraught with fear, even for those who are masters of themselves; why mention the vulgar one engrossed in one's house?' (17)

Rāma then lived for a few thousands of years, in austere *Brahmacarya* and performance of sacrifices; but when he left the earth and reached back to his own original effulgence, Śuka says, it is his tender sprout-like feet, pricked by the thorns of the Daṇḍaka forests which he walked, that he left behind stitched into the hearts of the poeple.

स्मरतां हृदि विन्यस्य विद्धं दण्डककण्टकैः ।
स्वपादपल्लवं राम आत्मज्योतिरगात्ततः ॥ (19)

It is the sorrow and suffering with which he crucified himself.

Summing up the message of Vālmīki, Śuka says that it is *Ānṛśamsya*, kindness, absence of cruelty:

पुरुषो रामचरितं श्रवणैरुपधारयन् ।
आनृशंस्यपरो राजन् * * * ॥ (23)

Vālmīki said through Sītā, the embodiment of Karuṇā, that Rāma himself had taught her that *Ānṛśamsya* was the highest Dharma:

आनृशंस्यं परो धर्मः त्वत्त एव मया श्रुतः । (V. 38.40.)

(3)

In two papers on 'Gleanings from the Matsya Purāṇa'[1] I drew attention to some *Rāmāyaṇa*-data in the *Matsya Purāṇa* (ĀSS. 54).

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[1] *Purāṇa*, All-India Kasi Raja Trust, I.1. 1959, 83 ff.; *ib.* III. 2. 1961, pp. 326-7,

In 53. 71-2, the *Matsya* speaks of the *Rāmāyaṇa* or *Rāmopākhyāna*, its author Vālmīki, Brahmā communicating the story first, its extent in original, 'Śatakoṭipravistara', Nārada relating it again to Vālmīki and Vālmīki to the world and the Epic being the means to the realisation of the three *Puruṣārthas* of *Dharma*, *Artha* and *Kāma*.

There are two contexts in the story of *Tripuradahana* in which the havoc caused by fire in Tripura-city is described, Ch. 140 vv. 58 ff. and Ch. 188 vv. 15-56. Both these descriptions in *Matsya* are inspired by the two descriptions of fire in Vālmīki, one in Sundara 53 where Hanumān sets Laṅkā on fire and the other in Yuddha 75 where, as part of the battle, the monkeys burn the city. Vālmīki's comparison of Hanumān burning Laṅkā to Śiva burning Tripura, 'Rudreṇa Tripuram yathā' (V. 54.30), must have also acted as an incentive.

But the most telling illustration of the influence of Vālmīki on the author of the *Matsya* is Ch. 139 (vv. 15 ff.) of the Purāṇa where the moonlight-night and the pleasures of the Tripura men and women are described. This description is patently on the model of the similar descriptions of Laṅkā and the Rākṣasas in moonlight as seen by Hanumān in the beginning of the Sundarakāṇḍa. The same metre and the similar sound effects bring out clearly the inspiration of Vālmīki on the *Matsya*. Reference may also be made to some actual parallels in expression and similes which I have given in the articles referred to. Elewhere also, as I have shown there, Vālmīki's expressions are found in the *Matsya* (*Matsya* 161.89 and Vālmīki V. 20.34).

(4)

The *Vāyu Purāṇa* (ĀSS. 49) deals with the stories of Rāma and Rāvaṇa in the accounts of the geneologies of Devas, Asuras, Rākṣasas, Ṛṣis and Kings of the Solar and Lunar dynasties. In 70.32 ff., Rāvaṇa's geneology is given. Viśravas' three wives are mentioned, Puspotkaṭā, Vākā (mistake for Rākā) and Kaikasī and the first two are given as daughters of Mālyavān; and the third as the daughter of Mālin. The father of all these three wives are mentioned in Vālmīki as Sumālin (VII. 5.38). Kubera is the son of an earlier wife of Viśravas. Kaikasī gave birth to Rāvaṇa, Kumbhakarṇa, Śūrpaṇakhā and Vibhīṣaṇa. Puṣpotkaṭā gave birth to Mahodara, Prahasta, Mahāpāṁsu (Mahāpārśva?), Khara, and a daughter Kumbhīnasī. Vākā (Rākā) was the mother of Triśiras, Dūṣaṇa, Vidyujjihva and a daughter Asalikā.

There is an interesting but intriguing point about Rāvaṇa's physical features. His ten heads and twenty arms are well-known but Kālidāsa says of him in *Raghu* XII.88 : भुजमूर्ध-ऊरु-बाहुल्याद् एकोऽपि धनदानुजः which adds that Rāvaṇa had more than two thighs or legs (ūrubāhulya). The only other place where I had, so far, come across Rāvaṇa's many legs is a passage cited by the Telugu leather puppet players. Now, we find this thing mentioned by the *Vāyu Purāṇa* also in the above-mentioned context (70.42):

शङ्कुकर्णो दशग्रीवः पिङ्गलो रक्तमूर्धजः ।
चतुष्पाद् विंशतिभुजः महाकायो महाबलः ॥

that in addition to ten heads and twenty arms, Rāvaṇa had four legs.[1]

The verse recited by the Telugu leather puppeteers says :
दशाननं विंशतिबाहुदण्डं चतुष्पदं etc.

Vaivasvata Manu's line is described in Ch. 88 and a short account of Rāma and his brothers and their sons and descendants is to be had here (183 ff). What is specially noteworthy is the point I mentioned when dealing with the *Mahābhārata* and the mnemonic lines handed down in bardic tradition about each of the great kings. The lines about Rāma and *Rāmarājya* occurring in more than one place in the *Mahābhārata* occur in the *Vāyu* also, which reads them thus with the introductory statement about their being traditional verses:

गाथां चैवात्र गायन्ति ये पुराणविदो जनाः ।
* * * * ॥
श्यामो युवा लोहिताक्षो दीप्तास्यो मितभाषिता ।
आजानुबाहुः सुमुखः सिंहस्कन्धो महाभुजः ॥
दशवर्षसहस्राणि रामो राज्यमकारयत् ।
ऋक्सामयजुषां घोषो ज्याघोषश्च महास्वनः ॥
अविच्छिन्नोऽभवद् राष्ट्रे दीयतां भुज्यतामिति । etc. (192-6)

In the account of Nimi's line in the following chapter, the appearance of Sītā when Janaka was ploughing the sacrificial ground, and Janaka's brother and his daughters are mentioned.

(5)

The *Kūrma Purāṇa*[2], deals with sins, expiations and virtues in chapters 30-34 of the Uttarabhāga and in the last, illustrates the virtue of *Pātivratya* with Sītā and the story of how because of her chastity, Rāvaṇa was destroyed (pp. 696-700 *Bib. Ind.* edn.).

The *Rāmāyaṇa* is told here very briefly; Rāvaṇa steals her through the guise of a recluse when she was alone. At this stage, the *Kūrma* narrates the interesting story of the Māyā-Sītā. Sītā prays to God Agni to come to her rescue when Rāvaṇa was trying to carry her away. An excellent eight-verse hymn to Fire (Vahnyaṣṭaka), is recited by Sītā with her mind fixed on Rāma.

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[1] Curiously the *Vāyu* gives also Kubera, the elder brother, several physical oddities to justify his name Kubera and one of these oddities is his *three legs* (Tripādam, v. 36).

[2] *Bib. Ind.* 1890; Venk. edn. 1905, 1926.

God Fire then creates a Māyā-Sītā for the purpose of doing away with Rāvaṇa, and himself goes to heaven with the real Sītā. Rāvaṇa takes away the Māyā-Sītā and after Rāvaṇa's death, Rāma is torn by suspicion about Sītā and to convince the world, Sītā again entered Fire. *Fire burnt that Māyā-Sītā* and presented Rāma his real Sītā. Rāma was wonderstruck and saluted Fire who said: "This is your great Goddess, pure as Pārvatī Herself whom she has propitiated; it is a Māyā-Sītā created by me that Rāvaṇa took away for hastening his own end ; therefore take this Sītā ; realise that you are Nārāyaṇa Himself." Then receiving the worship of all, the Fire-God vanished.

Earlier, there is a description in the *Kūrma*, pūrvabhāga, in ch. 21, of the Sūryavaṁśa-kings in the course of which the *Rāmāyaṇa* is briefly told (pages 231-236). The account shows no deviation or new detail; special mention is made of Rāma establishing the Śiva-liṅga in the middle of the Setu and worshipping it, and Śiva blessing Rāma and pronouncing in five verses the sanctity of that shrine of His on the Setu. After coronation, Rāma performs sacrifices to propitiate Śiva.

(6)

For the *Agni Purāṇa*, as available in the Ānandāśrama (No. 41) edition, I have elsewhere[1] indicated a date later than Bhoja, 11th cent., on the basis of its Alaṁkāra-chapters.

The very first section of the Purāṇa is devoted to the stories of the different incarnations of the Lord and of these, that of Rāma is given the largest space, chs. 5-11, a short chapter for each of the seven Kāṇḍas.

1. In 6.4, Daśaratha's eight ministers are read with slight differences: Dhṛṣṭi as Dṛṣṭi, Arthasādhaka as Rājya(Rāṣṭra)vardhana and Mantrapāla as Dharmapāla, the last being the reading in Gorresio and N.W.

2. Regarding Mantharā's interference, the *Agni* mentions that Rāma had dragged her by the feet and earned her enmity :

पादौ गृहीत्वा रामेण कर्षिता सापराधतः । (6. 8.)

There is some popular tradition of Rāma as a young boy teasing Mantharā by hitting her hump but the *Agnipurāṇa*-information is new.

In ch. 8, Kiṣkindhā kāṇḍa-story, verse 6, 'Na ca saṁkucitaḥ panthāḥ' etc., is taken from Vālmīki IV.30.81.

Svayaṁprabhā is called here Suprabhā (8.12).

The aged minister who prevents Rāvaṇa from slaying Sītā is called in the *Agni* also Avindhya (10.22).

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[1] See my *Bhoja's Sṛṅgāraprakāśa* (1963), pp. 319-21, 493-4.

The well-known line in Vālmīki on the uniqueness of Rāma-Rāvaṇa-yuddha—रामरावणयोर्युद्धं रामरावणयोरिव is reproduced (10.23).

In the Uttarakāṇḍa-story in ch. 11, some differences are seen. Viśravas is said to have had only two wives Puṣpotkaṭā and Kaikasī, the former giving birth to Kubera and the latter to Rāvaṇa (1-3). This accords with the account neither in the *Rāmāyaṇa* nor in the *Mahābhārata*.

In chapters 238-242, a comparatively large section on *Rājanīti* is seen and it is said that all this is what Rāma taught Lakṣmaṇa in the *Rāmāyaṇa* and especially in the course of the battle and it stood Lakṣmaṇa in good stead when killing Indrajit. But none of the ideas or verses here is taken from Vālmīki.

(7)

The *Garuḍa*[1], which is counted among *Mahāpurāṇas*, has a brief chapter (142nd, Pūrvakhaṇḍa) on the Rāma-story as part of an account of the different dynasties and of the incarnations of Viṣṇu. After summarising the story in seven verses, the Purāṇa expatiates on the chastity of Sītā and in that connection, narrates the story of Āṇi-Māṇḍavya. In the next chapter (143rd), the *Rāmāyaṇa*, including its Uttarakāṇḍa, is taken up again, now for a little longer treatment. These two brief versions disclose no variation.

(8)

The *Śiva Mahāpurāṇa*[2], in its second book called *Rudrasaṁhitā* and its sub-section called *Satīkhaṇḍa* has an episode in chapter 24 intended to bring out the high moral ideals for which the Rāma-incarnation stood and how as between Śiva and Viṣṇu, there was only a division of work and no conflict of authority.

Śiva and Satī, who are roaming about happily, come once to Daṇḍakāraṇya and see there two brothers, one of whom is sorrowing and weeping. Śiva recognises Rāma and understands his condition which is due to the loss of Sītā and the search for her in which the brothers are engaged at that time. Śiva goes up to Rāma and salutes him and Satī who is surprised at this, asks Śiva why he, who is saluted by all Gods, should go out of the way to salute this person. Śiva then informs Satī that the two brothers are Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa, incarnations of Viṣṇu and Śeṣa, and noticing that Satī is not satisfied, says that She might herself go up and test Rāma's greatness. Satī goes and after some thought, hits upon a plan to test Rāma. She takes the guise of Sītā and approaches him. Rāma recognises Satī in that figure, pays his respects and asks where Śiva was and why she has come alone. Satī then realises the truth of what Śiva told her

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1. Jīvānanda Vidyāsāgar edn. Calcutta 1890.
2. Venk. edn.

about Rāma's greatness and asks Rāma why and how Śiva developed that great respect for him.

In the next chapter (25th), Rāma explains the division of work of looking after the world among themselves, Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva; the incarnations which he took for the protection of the world at the instance of Śiva, as Rāma, Bharata, Lakṣmaṇa and Śatrughna and how he came to the forests and has been searching for Sītā. Rāma requests Satī to bless him to recover Sītā and kill the Rākṣasas and salutes Satī.

(9)

The *Skanda Purāṇa*, as published by the Venkateswara Press, in seven Khaṇḍas, may be noticed now.

The first book of the Purāṇa is the *Maheśvara khaṇḍa* with subsections *Kedāra* etc. Chapter 8 of the *Kedāra khaṇḍa* is on the worship of Śivaliṅga. All Rākṣasas and Asuras are said to be Śiva-worshippers and a list of Rākṣasas of Rāvaṇa's side is given here (30-32) as illustrations of those who worshipped Śiva and attained excelling prowess. Rāvaṇa's various acts of Śiva-worship and his expeditions are described. The Gods who had all been subdued by him come to Nandin with a view to represent their sufferings to Śiva. Nandin's curse on Rāvaṇa and the circumstances of the same are described. The gods are asked to petition Viṣṇu and the latter agrees to incarnate for doing away with Rāvaṇa. In this connection the text says that an aspect of Śiva Himself appeared as Hanumān ; Viṣṇu became Rāma, Śeṣa Lakṣmaṇa, and *the two arms* of Viṣṇu, Bharata and Śatrughna.

दोर्दण्डावपि विष्णोश्च अवतीर्णौ प्रतापिनौ ।
शत्रुघ्नभरताख्यौ च * * * ॥ (104)

Sītā having been Vedavatī before is also mentioned. It is said that Rāma destroyed Rāvaṇa and all his hosts in *six months* (ṣaḍbhir māsaiḥ—113).

The *Vaiṣṇava khaṇḍa*, sub-section 4, chapter 25 has a brief reference to Daśaratha and his previous birth and the birth of Rāma for the accomplishment of a divine mission (23-25). The sub-section 8 on Ayodhyā, Ch.6, speaks of some parts of the Rāma-story in connection with the Sītā-kuṇḍa, Viṣṇu in Śvetadvīpa being petitioned by Śiva and his promise to be born in Ayodhyā, and the final disappearance of Rāma and his followers into the waters of Sarayū at a spot called *Gopratara*, in connection with the sanctity of this spot (118 ff). The Kṣīrodaka-kuṇḍa described in 7.1-7 is the spot where Agni gave Daśaratha the *pāyasa* to be shared by his Queens for the birth of the divine sons. In the same chapter, the spot where Vasiṣṭha, Rāma's Guru, stayed is described as the Vasiṣṭha-kuṇḍa (69-76).

Another holy spot in Ayodhyā described in 8.48-116 is called Mahāvidyā; another called Dugdha-kuṇḍa where on Rāma's return

Kāmadhenu appeared and Śiva was worshipped; then Sugrīva-tīrtha, Hanūmat-kuṇḍa, and Vibhīṣaṇa-sara are described. Other Tīrthas described in the next chapter and associated with the Epic-characters are Bharata-kuṇḍa, the spot where Nandigrāma stood and wherefrom Bharata ruled as Rāma's agent, and Jaṭā-kuṇḍa, the spot where Rāma and his brothers at the end of the Vanavāsa removed their matted locks and beard.

The *Brahma khaṇḍa*, the third, deals in its first section with the holy spots around the Setu which Rāma built. The first two chapters are devoted to these and the account opens with a praise of the great sanctity of the Setu. The Setu, Rāmeśvara Linga and the Gandhamādana hill are prominently mentioned. The second chapter setting forth briefly the circumstances of Rāma building the Setu, gives a brief resume of the *Rāmāyaṇa*-story. It was at Cakratīrtha that Vibhīṣaṇa met Rāma and Rāma meditated as to how they could cross the Sea. The monkeys propose that they might cross by boats, an idea which we met with in the *Rāmopākhyāna* of the *Mahābhārata*. In fact the very lines of the *Rāmopākhyāna* embodying this boats-proposal and Rāma's reply thereto are found in the *Skānda* here (2.47-53). Some of the verses in the sequel that Rāma speaks on finding the Sea irresponsive to his supplication, as also those spoken by the Lord of the Waters, who later appears, are taken from Vālmīki (56.69; 79.82). There are also lines in 87-88 which Nala, who is to build the Setu, speaks, which are also taken from Vālmīki.

The text then glorifies the Setu and gives a list of 25 chief Tīrthas associated with characters or incidents of the *Rāmāyaṇa* at this place. The Māhātmyas of these Tīrthas go upto ch. 42; then the Māhātmya of the Rāmeśvara or Rāmanātha Liṅga and his worship and service at His shrine are dealt with in ch. 43.

The story of how Rāma came to set up this Liṅga is then told in ch. 44 and in this connection, a resume of the concerned part of the *Rāmāyaṇa* is given. Again the verses of the *Skānda* here run close to those in the *Rāmopākhyāna* of the *Mahābhārata*, many verses being common to the two texts. The incident of some divine water which a Guhyaka from Kubera brings and with which at Vibhīṣaṇa's instance, Rāma and others wipe their eyes and gain the power to see invisible things—which the *Rāmopākhyāna* gives, —is also found in the *Skānda* (41-48).

Sītā's purification is said to take place at the Gandhamādana hill (60).

Rāma then wants to be purified of the sin of having had to kill Rāvaṇa and asks the sages as to what could be done; it is for this expiation that the Rāmanātha Liṅga is set up and worshipped by Rāma. Hanumān is sent to Kailāsa to bring a Liṅga but as he was taking time and the auspicious moment was nearing, the sand-Liṅga (*Saikata-Liṅga*) set up by Sītā was consecrated by Rāma. The exact Muhūrta of the consecration is given with all its details. With the tip of his bow, Dhanuṣkoṭi, Rāma created a well for the ablution of the Liṅga ; this is the Koṭi Tīrtha. Everyone present there, the divine beings and the Vānaras, all of them set up Śiva-Liṅgas there.

The story in the next chapter, 45th, takes an interesting turn. Hanumān returns with a Liṅga presented by Śiva Himself and is sore that meantime, they had consecrated the sand-Liṅga of Sītā. Rāma now gives to Hanumān a philosophical discourse (*Skānda*, *Brahma*, *Setu*, 45, 41-50) which includes verbatim a good part of his discourse to Bharata at Citrakūṭa in Vālmīki (II.105). Rāma dilates upon real internal worship, but finding Hanumān unconsoled, gets his Liṅga from Kailāsa also consecrated after Hanumān's name. Hanumān is still unsatisfied and resolves to uproot the sand-Liṅga with all his effort. When he fails and falls down vomitting blood and unconscious, Rāma takes him on his lap and recalling serially all the marvellous achievements of Hanumān, asks him to get up (ch. 46). Rāma also names a Kuṇḍa after Hanumān.

Chapter 47 explains the *Brahmahatyā* attached to Rāma by narrating the descent of Rāvaṇa from Viśravas and how thereby the latter and his brothers were of Brahman pedigree.

The next big sub-section of the *Brahma khaṇḍa* is called after *Dharmāraṇya* and here again, the Rāma-story is told in chapters 30-36. Dharmāraṇya, the abode of Moḍha Brahmans, is said to owe its growth to Rāma who endowed it on these Brahman families. An account of the *Rāmāyaṇa* is given in this connection, starting with Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa going with Viśvāmitra and killing Tāṭakā. The stone-form of Ahalyā is mentioned (30-6). A speciality of the narrative here is the dates and other chronological details of the chief incidents which are given ; in fact, this whole account, except for a stray verse here and there, is identical with ch. 36 of the *Pātālakhaṇḍa* of the *Padmapurāṇa* to be noticed.

Rāma continues to be oppressed with the sense of having had to kill Rāvaṇa and other Brahma-Rākṣasas and asks Vasiṣṭha about a Tīrtha where he could cleanse himself of his sin (ch. 31). Vasiṣṭha mentions the Dharmāraṇya[1].

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[1] The date of this section seems to be late; it mentions the Jains living there (36. 45 ff), a Jain teacher Indrasūri and a king Kumārapāla; also mentioned (vv. 40, 53, 54, 59) are the conversion of some Brahmans to Jainism and of others forced to go as far south as Rāmeśvaram. The total population of Brahmans or worshippers of Rāma and Hanumān in Dharmāraṇya is given as 18,000 Moḍhas, 18,000 Gobhūjas, 1,25,000 Māṇḍalīyas and 18,000 Aḍālajas. (36.83). They rehabilitate themselves again, by the blessing of Hanumān, as the story says.

The 5th book *Āvantya khaṇḍa,* section I. ch. 21 mentions a shrine named Hanumatkeśvara in Avantī (Ujjain). Hanumān, after the coronation, is said to go to Laṅkā and get from Vibhīṣaṇa one of the six Liṅgas preserved there, which was formerly in worship by Kubera. Hanumān consecrated this in Ujjain. Chapter 24 relates the Māhātmya of a shrine here called Vālmīkeśvara whose worship bestows poesy on the worshipper. Vālmīki is said in this connection to have practised penance at Kuśasthalī to propitiate Śiva and obtained the gift of poesy from him.

The *Nāgara khaṇḍa,* the 6th book, has a *Rāmāyaṇa*-story in chs. 96-105. The narrative starts with Daśaratha worshipping Saturn to ward off the drought in his kingdom[1]; then his worship of Hāṭakeśvara and Devī, and then his raising a temple for Viṣṇu for the sake of progeny. Viṣṇu promises that He himself will be born as his son. Rāma and other sons are born and they in turn found the shrines Rāmeśvara and Lakṣmaṇeśvara. Rāma sets up also a shrine for Sītā.

The next chapter narrates the story of how Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa fall out. This is the episode of the messenger from heavens and of Durvāsas, which is told in the Uttarakāṇḍa of Vālmīki (105-6).

Lakṣmaṇa's body falls and Rāma recapitulates his acts in the *Rāmāyaṇa*-story and cries. Rāma leaves the kingdom in charge of Kuśa and goes on the Puṣpaka to see Sugrīva and Vibhīṣaṇa. Rāma advises Vibhīṣaṇa as to how he should conduct himself and asks him to worship the three Rameśvara Liṅgas that he, Rāma, had established on the Setu at the two ends and the centre. To prevent men from entering Laṅkā, Rāma also split the Setu into three parts.

As Rāma is returning, his Puṣpaka is arrested suddenly in its progress and when he sends down Hanumān to find out the reason, it is revealed that they are just above the Cāmuṇḍā and Viṣṇu shrines built by Daśaratha. Rāma gets down and adds there a Liṅga-shrine named after Lakṣmaṇa.

Rāma then makes a halt at Agastya's Āśrama and hears the story of Sveta who has been eating his own flesh and which is given also in *Pādma, Sṛṣṭi khaṇḍa,* ch. 33 to be noticed later.

Ch. 104 mentions several Liṅgas established in Avantī by the Rāksaṣas who come to Ayodhyā with Rāma and the Liṅgas named after Kuśa and Lava.

(10)

The *Brahma Purāṇa* (*ĀSS* 28), sometimes known as the *Ādi Purāṇa,* and counted as a *Mahāpurāṇa*[2], has three contexts having

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[1] The *Śanaiścara Stotra* uttered by Daśaratha on this occasion is well-known in collections of Navagraha-Stotras.

[2] But Hazra considers it as an *Upapurāṇa* compiled not earlier than the beginning of the 10th cent. A.D. See his *Purāṇic Records on Hindu Rites and Customs.*

Rāma-material. The first is the description of Paulastya-tīrtha, ch.97. This gives the details of Rāvaṇa's geneology and his fight with his elder brother Kubera and has little variation. The second is the account of another Tīrtha, this one called after Rāma, ch. 123. The resume of the *Rāmāyaṇa* given here begins with Daśaratha going to the aid of Devas in their battle with the Asuras, Kaikeyī's timely help to Daśaratha when the axle of the chariot is broken and Daśaratha giving her *three* boons.

ततस्तस्यै वरान् प्रादात् त्रींस्तु नारद सा अपि । (30)[1]

The next episode recounted is Daśaratha's hunt and the curse of the old blind recluse-couple. The time of the king's hunt is said to be the night (34).

After his death, Daśaratha is said to be tortured in different hells (113-125) which is thoroughly uncalled for, but is introduced to emphasise the greatness of river Gautamī ; it is said that as soon as Rāma reached the banks of the Gautamī, Daśaratha was taken out of the hells (125-8) ; he comes down and meets his two sons and daughters-in-law and becomes freed of the three *Brahmahatyās*[2] standing against him. Such is the greatness of the Rāmatīrtha on the Godāvarī, according to this Purāṇa.

A third Tīrtha described in ch. 154 is the Sahasra-kuṇḍa on the Gautamī again. An interesting idea that occurs here deserves notice: After the fire-ordeal, when Rāma wants to take Sītā on his lap on the Puṣpaka, Aṅgada and Hanumān interrupt and say that as the people in Ayodhyā will not accept this *Agni-śuddhi* in Laṅkā, Rāma might take Sītā on his lap after a public *śuddhi* in Ayodhyā (5-8). This is overruled by all others, but, as the Purāṇa goes on to say, some low persons in Ayodhyā talk ill of Sītā and Rāma has to banish her. The consequent dejection of Rāma and all the monkeys and Rākṣasas could be reduced only after their ablution in the Sahasrakuṇḍa-tīrtha on the Gautamī.

(11)

The *Brahma-vaivarta*[3], is a *Mahāpurāṇa* devoted to Viṣṇu or rather Kṛṣṇa. In its second book called *Prakṛtikhaṇḍa*, in the midst of the stories on the greatness of Tulasī, there is one which brings on a name which occupies a crucial place in the *Rāmāyaṇa*-theme, Vedavatī whose curse on him, Rāvaṇa himself mentions and which keeps him from any act of violation of Sītā (VI.60.10). Her full story is told in Uttarakāṇḍa 17, of how she was the daughter of a

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[1] Later in vv. 107-108, the actual narrative of the coronation-proposal and Rāma going to the forest is all too brief and no light is available there on the third boon.

[2] The three *Brahmahatyās* evidently refer to the Munikumāra mistakenly killed by him and his two aged parents who died of the separation.

[3] Venk. edn.

Brahmarṣi named Kuśadhvaja, how her father and she, after him, were intent on her marrying Viṣṇu, how she was in penance for obtaining this desire, how Rāvaṇa who saw her in austerities laid his hands on her tresses and how she immolated herself in fire after saying that she would appear again as an Ayonijā to put an end to Rāvaṇa.

The *Brahma-vaivarta* makes Kuśadhvaja a king (Ch. 14). Rāvaṇa's affront to Vedavatī is described with some difference, that instead of Rāvaṇa catching hold of her hair, he drags her here by her arm. Vedavatī is said to be *Vāk* herself in Vālmīki but here as a manifestation of Lakṣmī and named Vedavatī because, even as she appeared, she was reciting the Veda. The purpose of her penance is the same in both texts and according to the Purāṇa, she is promised Nārāyaṇa as husband in the next manifestation of the Lord as Rāma. The Purāṇa adds that even as Sītā she remembered her previous birth (jātismarā) and thereby overcame all the sorrow that she underwent as Sītā (29).

What follows in the narrative of the Purāṇa is interesting, the tradition of Chāyā-Sītā. On the eve of the episode of the golden deer, when Rāma, Sītā, and Lakṣmaṇa were near the sea (samudranikaṭe,—how this is possible is not known ; they are in Pañcavaṭī), Rāma sees a Brahman who speaks to him in confidence, insisting that what he says, should not be known even to Lakṣmaṇa. Fire in the form of the Brahman tells Rāma that he would take the actual Sītā to be restored to Rāma at the end of the battle (in her fire-ordeal) and that for the interim period and all that would happen then, he would provide Rāma with a duplicate Sītā (28-35). Rāma agrees.

On being killed by Rāma, Mārīca is expressly stated to go to Vaikuṇṭha ; and the Purāṇa adds, taking hold of the tradition that it is the two gate-keepers of Vaikuṇṭha, Jaya and Vijaya who, owing to the curse of sages Sanaka and others, were being born successively as the pair of demons Hiraṇyākṣa and Hiraṇyakaśipu and so on, that Mārīca was the gate-keeper Jaya (40-41). But the general belief, as recorded in the *Bhāgavata* for example, is that in Rāmāvatāra, Jaya and Vijaya were the brothers Rāvaṇa and Kumbhakarṇa (*Bhāg*. VII.1.43).

Following the fire-ordeal, the real Sītā is restored to Rāma and the Fire God asks the Chāyā-Sītā to proceed to Puṣkara for penance, and then return to heavens as Lakṣmī. The Purāṇa adds that in the next age of Dvāpara she would appear as Draupadī (54).

In the fourth book devoted to Kṛṣṇa-stories, the *Brahmavaivarta* has a sub-section on the several occasions when Indra committed excesses and was punished. One of these stories is on his episode with Ahalyā, of which there is a brief account by Vālmīki in Bālakāṇḍa. (Uttarārdha, Ch. 61). The two motifs here relating to the forms of punishment meted out to Indra and Ahalyā have already been touched upon. The present Purāṇa has the following on this episode :

1. Gautama's curse covers Indra's body with a mass of the female genital organ and he is consequently tormented and becomes the target of derision; he performs Tapas and gets these marks converted into so many eyes and becomes Sahasrākṣa. The expression 'Bhagāṅka' (marked by the Bhaga) is given here as 'Bhagāṅga', 'with the whole body a mass of Bhagas' (61.7-10).

2. Indra first sees Ahalyā at the Sūrya -festival in Puṣkara and becomes infatuated ; next day he sees her bathing and comes to her. She advises Indra to give up his lust and conduct himself in a manner worthy of his position ; she comes to her hermitage and reports to Gautama. Indra however takes Gautama's guise and when he is away to worship Śiva, achieves his ambition. Seeing him come out of his hermitage and Ahalyā in an unseemly condition, Gautama curses that Indra's body be covered all over with 'bhaga' and Ahalyā to be a piece of rock till she is blessed with the touch of Rāma's foot (55).

This leads to a brief narration of the Rāma-incarnation, which is given in the next chapter (62).

Śūrpaṇakhā tells the brothers that as she was in lust and has not been responded to, the sin of such frustration would be on them and that they would soon be in trouble. She cites a number of cases of stubborn men being cursed by ungratified women ; and the Purāṇa adds that Śūrpaṇakhā 'cursed' that Rāma would be deprived of his wife.

The Purāṇa does not drop Śūrpaṇakhā with this ; it continues that the demoness went to Puṣkara for penance and became the hunchback *Kubjā* (62.52-54)! But which Kubjā ? Certainly not Mantharā whose role is already over.

Hanumān is mentioned as a partial incarnation of Śiva (Rudrakalodbhava-62.63).

The author of this text is not a drab summarisesr, but a gifted writer who has his own similes and fancy to play variations on the *Rāmāyaṇa*-motifs. Hanumān tells Sītā when speaking of his own prowess : 'Laṅkā appears to me like a little monkey-kid, the ocean as some urine, the earth around as a clay-plate and the Rākṣasa-hosts as a cluster of ants.'

मर्कटीडिम्भतुल्यां च लङ्कां पश्यामि सुव्रते ॥
मूत्रतुल्यं समुद्रं च शरावमिव भूतलम् ।
पिपीलिकासंघमिवससैन्यं रावणं तथा ॥ (62.75-6).

In Sītā's reply is found the stanza:

हारो नारोपितः कण्ठे पुरा व्यवहितो रतौ ।
अधुनैवावयोर्मध्ये समुद्रः शतयोजनः ॥ (62.83-4).

"When I and Rāma were together, we did not wear even a necklace lest it should create a separation ; now a sea of hundred yojanas yawns between us."

This verse is actually found in some mss. of Vālmīki, with some verbal variants.

(12)

The *Nāradīya Mahāpurāṇa*[1], has in its Uttarabhāga accounts of a number of sacred places, one of which is a hill associated with Lakṣmaṇa. In ch. 75 devoted to the Māhātmya of this Lakṣmaṇācala, a resume of the *Rāmāyaṇa* is given which follows the well-known version. The only noteworthy idea in the *Nāradīya* is that as it opens the Rāma-story and the incarnation of the four brothers Rāma etc., it correlates the four manifestations with the Caturvyūha-concept and makes the following equation : Nārāyaṇa-Rāma ; Pradyumna-Bharata ; Śatrughna-Aniruddha and Lakṣmaṇa-Saṁkarṣaṇa who is Śiva.

चतुर्व्यूहावतारे यो देवः संकर्षणः स्वयम् ।

* * *

देवो नारायणः साक्षाद् रामो ब्रह्मादिवन्दितः ॥
प्रद्युम्नो भरतो भद्रे शत्रुघ्नो ह्यनिरुद्धकः ।
लक्ष्मणस्तु महाभागो स्वयं संकर्षणः शिवः ॥ (3-5)

See also *Viṣṇudharmottara* below.

(13)

Regarding the *Padma Purāṇa*, Winternitz[2] and after him and at his instance Dr. Haradatta Sharma[3] had drawn attention to the relation of this Purāṇa, especially its *Pātālakhaṇḍa* in its Bengali recension, to the *Rāmāyaṇa* and Kālidāsa's *Raghuvaṁśa* and *Śākuntala*. We shall notice the *Pātālakhaṇḍa*, the fourth book of this Purāṇa, as also the other Khaṇḍas in detail from the point of view mainly of the Vālmīki *Rāmāyaṇa*, using the *Ānandāśrama* edition of the Purāṇa (in 6 Khaṇḍas and 4 volumes). The *Pātālakhaṇḍa* describes extensively the Aśvamedha performed by Rāma, a subject which claims a good part of the *Jaimini Bhārata's* Aśvamedhaparvan noticed here elsewhere.

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[1] Venk. edn.

[2] *A History of Indian Literature*, English Translation, University of Calcutta, 1927, I. p. 540.

[3] *Padmapurāṇa and Kālidāsa*, Calcutta Oriental Series, 1925.
Dr. Asoke Chatterji has, more recently, dealt in great detail with the *Padmapurāṇa* and its different Khaṇḍas. See his papers in the *Purāṇa*, All-India Kasi Raja Trust, Varanasi.
It is not correct to assume that Kālidāsa, either for the *Śākuntala* or for the *Raghuvaṁśa*, borrowed from the *Pādma*. The fact is the other way about. It is clear that the *Rāmāyaṇa*-portions in the *Pādma* derive not only from Vālmīki but also from Kālidāsa's *Raghuvaṁśa* and Bhavabhūti's *Uttararāmacarita* and in respect of some poetic descriptions, from Bāṇa too.

As the *Pādma* opens the Rāmāśvamedha-story, Śeṣa who is the speaker here says something which is worth quoting on this occasion of these lectures on the Greater Rāmāyaṇa :

" The Rāma-stories are an ocean; what can one like me, a mere mosquito, do ? Still I shall have to deal with it according to my capacity ; in the wide sky, each bird flies according to its capacity. The *Rāmacarita* is a hundred-crore of verses ; according to one's intellect, one writes about it. The fame of Rāma will purify my mind, even as fire, the gold." (1.12-15)

According to Vālmīki, Rāma politely declines Vibhīṣaṇa's invitation to step into Laṅkā city, after the fall of Rāvaṇa. But the *Pādma* says here that Rāma had an aerial view of the city and particularly of the Aśoka-vana and the Siṁśapā tree under which Sītā stayed and that he even fainted on seeing the place (20-23).

The Purāṇa, elaborating on Vālmīki's own lines, has one of the most high-flown descriptions of *Rāmarājya* in the style of Bāṇa (ch.5).

Agastya narrates to Rāma, as in Vālmīki, the geneology and antecedents of Rāvaṇa, but the account has some differences(6.8 ff). Viśravas is given only two wives, Mandākinī and Kaikasī ; the former gives birth to Kubera, the latter who is said to be the daughter of Vidyunmālin, to three sons, Rāvaṇa, Kumbhakarṇa and Vibhīṣaṇa.

It is the jealous mother Kaikasī who incites Rāvaṇa against Kubera and as a first step for victory, Rāvaṇa and the brothers undertake penances.

The new idea introduced at this stage is the sin of Rāma having killed a Brahman in the form of Rāvaṇa although a Rāksaṣa. Rāma repents for this and Agastya consoles him and points out that he has not killed any one not connected with him and that Rāvaṇa was his own door-keeper in Vaikuṇṭha, cursed by sages (21-22) and that Rāma has really blessed Rāvaṇa to regain his status. As Rāma still insists on an expiation that he should do for this *Brahma-hatti*, Agastya proposes that he might do an Aśvamedha as it is a specific expiation for this sin.

10.42 ff. This Purāṇa also mentions that on the forehead of the Aśvamedha horse an inscribed placard in gold was tied, announcing Rāma's sovereignty and calling upon kings to bow to it or challenge and fight. Śatrughna followed by Puṣkala, son of Bharata, is sent as the escort of the horse. Rāma sends Hanumān, Jāmbavān and other monkey-chiefs to go and take care of the whole party.

Then a series of local stories and Māhātmyas of persons and places begins in connection witn the visit of Śatrughna and the horse-party to these places (chs. 12 ff). This section includes also some fights and victories for Śatrughna.

As Śatrughna and the horse-party were proceeding, Rāvaṇa's friend Vidyunmālin, holding sway over Pātāla suddenly appeared and carried off the sacrificial horse (ch.33). It is here that the story of Rāma's Aśvamedha of the Pātāla khaṇḍa of the *Pādma* differs from that of the *Jaiminīyāśvamedha.* Śatrughna's party defeat the demon, recover the horse and proceed further (ch. 34).

Ch. 35 has a special interest for Rāma-cult, the details of which had evidently grown fully by the time of this section of the *Pādma.* The party come across a sage named Āraṇyaka, a worshipper of Rāma who gives here a disquisition on Rāma-bhakti as imparted to him by sage Lomaśa. Then is given the method of contemplating Rāma (*Rāma-dhyāna*) in Ayodhyā under the Kalpaka tree in the jewelled maṇḍapa (35.55 ff) which is condensed in the traditional verse 'Vaidehī-sahitam suradruma-tale etc.' recited before the reading of the *Rāmāyaṇa.*

Now follows Lomaśa's discourse on Rāma. The speciality of this resume is the mention of the number of years and dates of the events and the age of Rāma and Sītā at particular stages of the story. In the extensive Rāma-literature, this chronologically notated account occupies an important place along with independent tracts like the *Rāmajātaka* on the same subject. A few of these dates and durations may be noted as they have figured elsewhere in these lectures: Rāma's Prāyopaveśa was for 4 days; the Setu was finished in 3 days, from Daśamī to Trayodaśī and the army took only 3 days to cross. Vālmīki mentions that Rāma reached Bharadvāja's Āśrama on the Pañcamī after the completion of 14 years (VI . 127-1); the present Purāṇa adds that Rāma met Bharata on Ṣaṣṭhī and had his coronation on Saptamī (75). Unfortunately the Nakṣatra on the day of the coronation, on which we noted a difference, is not mentioned by the *Pādma.*

Ch. 38 ushers in another mishap to Rāma's horse which, as the party was crossing the Narmadā, sank and vanished into the nether regions. Śatrughna, Hanumān and Puṣkala go down, meet a Yoginī there in whose custody the horse is and come back with the horse and some miraculous weapon given by her to guard the horse against a king named Vīramaṇi who is going to capture the horse. This last-mentioned encounter occurs immediately and it proves really perilous, as Śiva Himself to whom Vīramaṇi was devoted, helps him and the situation is relieved only when Rāma personally comes, and the two parties are reconciled (ch. 46). Then follows another serious encounter with king Suratha of Kuṇḍalapura which also brings Rāma to the scene.

The story now reaches back to Vālmīki and the horse-party reaching his Āśrama (ch. 54 ff) where Sītā had given birth to Lava and Kuśa. Lava captures the horse and in this connection, the story of Rāma's abandoning of Sītā is told, although so far, it has not been told anywhere before the idea of the Aśvamedha started. The gossip of the washerman is mentioned(2). Six intelligence men are employed to collect news in the city of whom five bring reports of praise and one of blame for Rāma taking back Sītā (ch. 55). Rāma is said to break this news first to Bharata alone.

The whole story of Sītā is now taken up from her being found by Janaka (ch.57). It is here that we find the story of the happy parrot couple which Sītā found. She heard the parrots talking about Rāma and asked her maids to capture and bring them to her. At her instance, the birds narrate the story of Rāma. Sītā was not willing to release the female parrot which was pregnant at that time, despite their repeated requests. Thereupon the angered female parrot cursed Sītā that Sītā too, in her pregnant state, would likewise be separated from her husband and it then expired in grief. Soon the male parrot also gave up its life in the Ganges and it is this male parrot that became the washerman of Ayodhyā.

The decision of Rāma is then conveyed to the other brothers including the alternative to abandoning Sītā posed y Rāma, according to the Purāṇa, that one of the brothers should put him (Rāma) to the sword (ch. 58).

The fight between Lava and Śatrughna's forces begins (ch. 60) and after initial success, Lava becomes unconscious (ch. 62).. Kuśa is said to have been absent at this time at Ujjain for worshipping Śiva (63.20). He now joins the fray and throws Śatrughna in a swoon. Kuśa reveals his identity and soon Sītā appears on the scene and sends back the horse (ch. 64).

On their return to Ayodhyā with the horse, they inform Rāma of his two sons in Vālmīki's *Āśrama* and the tough time they had with the two boys. The two boys had gone to Varuṇa's abode to sing the *Rāmāyaṇa* of Vālmīki and Varuṇa had sent a message to Rāma through Vālmīki, asking Rāma to take back Sītā and the two sons. When this message is received, Rāma sends Lakṣmaṇa to bring Sītā and the two sons(ch. 66).

Lakṣmaṇa goes and requests Sītā to come with him. Vālmīki is appraised of Rāma's request but he and Sītā decide to send only the two sons, asking them to sing the *Rāmāyaṇa* before Rāma (Ch. 86). The boys do so. There are here two verses which sum up the central teachings of the *Rāmāyaṇa-Dharma*, *Pātivratya*, brotherly love, veneration of elders, the attachment between master and servant and the punishment of the unrighteous (128-9).

Śeṣa then narrates the *Bālakāṇḍa*-story of the birth of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the hunter shooting down the male Krauñca and the birth of the first *śloka* from Vālmīki's mouth. The Purāṇa adds that as Vālmīki sat in thought, the form of Rāma appeared in his mind, along with all the incidents of past, present and future (161-2). Six *Kāṇḍas* are mentioned, leaving out *Ayodhyā* and including *Uttara*; a summary of the contents of the six Kāṇḍas is given from which it is clear that *Ayodhyā* is included in *Bāla* (164-182).

On Rāma asking her for a second time through Lakṣmaṇa, Sītā returned to Rāma and saluted Rāma and the Queen-mothers. For the first time here, the *Purāṇa* mentions the golden image of Sītā and says that Agastya set aside the image and set Sītā herself in her own place in the sacrifice (67.16).

A further innovation in the description of the Aśvamedha is that as soon as the sacrifical horse was bathed and the sword was taken on hand, the horse took a celestial form and ascended (50). On Rāma asking the celestial being as to who he was, the latter replied that he was originally a Brahman indulging in sham austerities on the banks of Sarayū and was cursed by a sage to become a sacrificial animal. He had been cursed to remain in that animal state till Rāma started his Aśvamedha (66).

Although without that horse the Aśvamedha was deficient, Vasiṣṭha adopted an alternate procedure and gratified all the gods (84-7).

According to the Purāṇa, Sītā stays with Rama for three Aśvamedhas (68.25).

Later the *Patāla Khaṇḍa* starts in ch. 100 a fresh account of the Rāma-story, after the Aśvamedha is over; this is narrated by Sūta to the Sages.

Once Śiva took the guise of a Brahman and went to Ayodhyā, along with Pārvatī and stayed on the Sarayū bank, purporting to see Rāma. Vasiṣṭha heard of this and reported to Rāma who came round to see the Brahman from Kailāsa and brought him to the palace. The Sages around Rāma represented that as the Brahman from Kailāsa appeared to be a repository of learning, they might ask him about the Purāṇic lore. Rāma asked him accordingly of the way of worshipping the Liṅga, the greatness of the Liṅga, and other sacred stories of Dharma etc. As Śiva started, messengers rushed to Rāma's presence with a letter. It was one from Vibhīṣaṇa reporting that some Drāviḍas did not tolerate the Śiva Liṅga at Rāmeśwara consecrated by Rama and had put Vibhīṣaṇa in chains (34-5).

A 'Praśna' or prognostication is to be made about the significance of this message. The question therefore arises as to what Purāṇa they should resort to, for such Praśnas. The general subject of what Purāṇa is to be taken and what left out and in a Purāṇa, what Śloka is acceptable and what not, and who are the right persons to perform pūjās and who are not, all these questions are raised (36-38). Naturally they all turn to Śiva who is there to enlighten them on the question of divination (Praśna) based on a random passage to be taken from a particular Purāṇa text. The *Rāmāyaṇa* is also included in the texts that could be used for such divination. Rāma selects the *Skanda purāṇa* and asks Śiva to read from it and divine the facts relating to Vibhīṣaṇa's imprisonment. Śiva reads three verses from some context where there is a reference to a character being released and Śiva says Vibhīṣaṇa will soon be released.

Rāma immediately hurries to the rescue of Vibhīṣaṇa. He first goes to Śrīraṅga and as they do not know the whereabouts of Vibhīṣaṇa there, Rāma asks the monkeys to search for him. But actually, according to some Brahman, Vibhīṣaṇa is there imprisoned in an underground cellar for the sin of Brahmahatyā, of killing unknowingly an aged Brahman sitting in meditation in a garden. Such a sin committed unknowingly could be expiated for. This is agreed to and Vibhīṣaṇa is released and enabled to perform an expiatory ceremony. After purifying himself, Vibhīṣana approaches Rāma and the latter advises him to be always compassionate and kind, as befitting a devotee of his (Rāma's).

Śiva then (ch. 101), by a piece of magic of his, takes Rāma to Nārāyaṇa's abode where Śiva informs the latter of the arrival of one of Nārāyaṇa's own manifestions, Rāma. Lakṣmī refers to Rāma's separation from Sītā (47 ff) and wants to hear from Rāma's own mouth the story of his love and separation; Rāma tries to avoid this and slips away but Lakṣmī follows him. Rāma however was a staunch 'Ekapatnī-vrata-dhara' and both Nārāyaṇa and Śiva were struck by this. Then they all return and halt at Bharadvāja's Āśrama.

Then follows a discussion on *Śrāddha* and then on *Liṅga-pūjā*, wearing of holy ash (bhasma-dhāraṇa) etc.

In ch. 112, the thread is resumed on the banks of the Gautamī in a temporary residence of Rāma. After the evening Sandhyā, when the moon had risen, Rāma, surrounded by the monkeys, asks Jāmbavān and the latter narrates the Rāma-story as it was of old and as he had heard it from Nārada (the *Purātana-Rāmāyaṇa*). The account, which is in prose, with some verses in between, starts with Daśaratha's expedition against King Sādhya of the city of Sumanas; there he is moved by seeing the young son of the king and desired very much to have a son like him. Sādhya advises Daśaratha to worship Viṣṇu and Śiva and observe the *Ekādaśī-vrata*. On returning to Ayodhyā, Daśaratha observes this and other *Vratas* and performs the *Putrakāmeṣṭi*. God Viṣṇu appears before him and Daśaratha asks for four virtuous sons of long life, dedicated to the service of the world (25).

A noteworthy difference occurs at this stage: Daśaratha is given *four* wives, Kausalyā, Sumitrā, Surūpā and Suveṣā. The Lord was prayed to by Kausalyā for progeny and the Lord entered the *Caru* which the king apportioned among his four wives. Kausalyā gave birth to Rāma, Sumitrā to Lakṣmaṇa, Surūpā to Bharata and Suveṣā to Śatrughna. Brahmā himself came and performed the *Jātakarman* and other rites for the children.

Rāma's childhood, his beauty and play and pranks are described. Once he is said to have been caught by a Brahmarākṣasa and fainted. Vasiṣṭha freed Rāma from this. Vasiṣṭha then teaches Rāma all the Vedas and Śāśtras.

Rāma's marriage also shows some difference. King Videha is said to offer to Rāma his daughter Vaidehī who had appeared from *fire* at the time of offering the oblation. Daśaratha and party then proceed to the place of King Videha. At the outset this place is called Vidarbha which is evidently a scribal error for Videha, for subsequently it is invariably called Mithilā.

Now a discussion is introduced between the astrologer Gārgya and Nārada about the appropriate and auspicious time for the marriage.

In the night, King Videha is said to worship Śiva and other Gods; Śiva appears before him and grants him a boon that although there are many suitors Rāma will become the husband of Vaidehī and to that effect, gives Videha His own bow, the bending and stringing of which should be set as the price of the bride. Gods, Rākṣasas, kings and Brahmans try and fail to bend the bow. Strangely Viśvāmitra is said to be one of the Brahmans who tried (109). Rāma succeeds and wins the hand of Sītā.

Daśaratha is said to crown Rāma as Crown Prince and be happy (121).

Then, suddenly the Queen named Suveṣā (mistake for Surūpā) is mentioned as the daughter of the Kekaya king, thus making her the Kaikeyī of Vālmīki. She becomes jealous and insists that Rāma should go to the forests for fourteen years and Bharata become the ruler. Daśaratha somehow agrees.

Vasiṣṭha forecasts the events that wouldensue, *viz.*, Rāma going to the forest, loss of Sītā and killing of the Rākṣasas, their return to Ayodhyā and the ruling of the Kingdom.

Several details as in Vālmīki are then correctly reproduced.

In the elaborate debate between Vālin and Rāma, on the propriety of the latter killing the former, Tārā figures instead of her husband Vālin. Vālin accepts that Rāma is Viṣṇu and on his prayer, Rāma grants him salvation.

Reaching the sea, Rāma worships Śiva and asks Śiva how he could cross the sea. Śiva gives again his bow, *which Rāma casts on the waters and the army crosses over it* (186-191).

The Rākṣasa Atikāya conveys the message to Rāma that Rāvaṇa's plan is to capture Rāma, take him before Sītā and kill him there.

There is a five-faced effigy at the gate of Laṅkā and when it is broken, Rāvaṇa will be killed; so has it been ordained by Śukra; and after breaking this effigy, they should hasten to the nether worlds. Rāma breaks the effigy. Atikāya and Vidyunmālin, the two Rākṣasas who are there, understand and seek Rāma's protection.

Rāma and the army then enter Laṅkā, the battle ensues and many Rākṣasa leaders are killed.

Then Vibhīṣaṇa tells Rāvaṇa at this stage that Rāvaṇa might surrender to Rāma. On Rāvaṇa's refusal, Vibhīṣaṇa leaves and joins Rāma (219-220).

Vibhīṣaṇa tells Rāma of a particular spot in Rāvaṇa's body by hitting at which Rāma could kill Rāvaṇa. Rāma does so and kills Rāvaṇa (222).

It is after Rāvaṇa's fall that Kumbhakarṇa is killed.

Vibhīṣaṇa performs the *śrāddha* for Rāvaṇa and others, and Rāma installs him as King of Laṅkā and builds a Śiva temple in his name. Then are mentioned: Sītā's purification in fire, Rāma and Sītā worshipping Śiva, and Rāma consecrating a Śiva temple on the sea-shore there. They return to Ayodhyā on the *Puṣpaka*, Rāma becomes king and the people, the sages and the Gods are all pleased. The account, which is all through punctuated by mention of Śiva and His worship, ends with an eulogy of Śiva's greatness.

It may be observed that the style in prose as well as the tenor of the whole narrative is poor and falls short of the general literary level and narrative quality of the *Pādma*.

Ch. 113 presents Rāma in a beautifiul pavilion in the sylvan surroundings near Bharadvāja's *Āśrama*; seated there in a plantain-grove, surrounded by Gods and sages, Rāma asks the Brahman Śambhu to continue his stories of Śiva. The story of Rāma performing the Śrāddha of Kausalyā is then told at which a Brahman-guest, hard to satisfy, presents himself, extracts the most exacting and obedient service of Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa, Sītā and Hanumān, and eventually reveals himself as a combination of Śiva and Viṣṇu in one.

Before we take leave of the Pātālakhaṇḍa, we should hark back to the beginning of the Khaṇḍa and draw attention to a noteworthy verse (27th) in ch. 5. In the midest of all this welter of stories, the Purāṇa does not forget the heart of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the lesson that it gives to humanity. In the description of *Rāmarājya* in the concluding chapter of the *Yuddhakāṇḍa*, Vālmīki says (131.27) that, always remembering Rāma as their model, Rāma's subjects did not harm each other.

राममेवानुपश्यन्तो नाभ्यहिंसन् परस्परम् ।

The *Bhāgavata* puts the same message of the *Rāmacarita* in other words when it says that by hearing Rāma's story one becomes established in benevolence, *Ānṛśaṃsya*. See above p. 35. The *Pādma* (Pātāla 5.27), when describing the ideal *Rāmarājya*, highlights the same lesson of the Epic and says that with their eyes rivetted on Rāma, the Lord of Sītā, the people became filled with the quality of compassion.

सीतापतिमुखालोकनिश्चलीभूतलोचनाः ।
लोका बभूवुस्सततं कारुण्यपरिपूरिताः ॥

The fifth book called *Sṛṣṭikhaṇḍa*[1], chs. 27-8, under the subjects of Puṣkara tīrtha and the merit of performing *Śrāddha* there, has a dialogue between Bhīṣma and Pulastya in which Rāma, after Bharata's departure from Citrakūṭa, goes to Puṣkara on the advice of sage Atri and performs *Śrāddha* for Daśaratha in an elaborate manner, at a spot there called Sudhāvaṭa under the direction of sage Mārkaṇḍeya. Lakṣmaṇa prepared all the dishes. When the actual *Śrāddha* was to begin, Sītā came but suddenly vanished and hid herself behind the trees. Later when Rāma asked her, she said that as the manes were invoked to present themselves in the person of the invitees, she actually saw King Daśaratha and was ashamed to stand before him in her garment of tree-bark; she was reminded of the life in the palace and thought that the father-in-law too, on his part, would become affected with sorrow on seeing her in that condition and wanted to avoid that; hence, she said, she went out of sight (27.130 ff).

Rāma stays in Mārkaṇḍeya's *Āśrama* there for a month performing austerities. Then happens a funny thing. Lakṣmaṇa tells Rāma that he is fed up with doing the servant's work for him and Sītā and that Sītā, who is enjoying herself, may do work and look after her husband and that he would rather stay back and not follow them for the rest of the forest-life. Rāma pacifies him and manages to take him along. They come upon a Śiva shrine on the way where Rāma prays to Śiva and receives Śiva's blessings. Suddenly Rāma talks a curt word to Lakṣmaṇa whose turn it is now to ask Sītā why Rāma is cross and what wrong he, Lakṣmaṇa, had done. On Sītā pleading with Rāma, Rāma says: "It is nobody's fault; the place we are traversing is notorious for the people here, who are lacking in brotherly feeling or any other affection and each is intent only on his own interests".

श्रुतपूर्वं च सुश्रोणि क्षेत्रस्यास्य विचेष्टितम ।
अत्र क्षेत्रे न सौभ्रात्रं सर्वे हि स्वार्थतत्पराः ॥
परस्परं न मन्यन्ते स्वार्थसिद्ध्यैकहेतवः ।
न शृण्वन्ति पितुः पुत्राः पुत्राणां वा तथा पिता ॥

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[1] In ch. 5 here, 63 ff. there is an account of the geneology of the vultures which has its parallel in Vālmīki, III.14. 17 ff.; but this is common to several cosmogonic texts.

न शिष्यो हि गुरोर्वाक्यं शिष्यस्यापि तथा गुरुः ।
अर्थानुबन्धिनी प्रीतिर्न कश्चित् कस्यचित्प्रियः ॥ 8. 2189-91

They then reach Narmadā, bathe there and worship the Sun. The verse that describes the three after the bath: कृताभिषेकस्तु रराज रामः etc. is the same as the one in Vālmīki, just before Śūrpaṇakhā's arrival (*Āraṇya* 17.43), with a slight change.

The *Uttarakāṇḍa* story of the untimely death in Ayodhyā of a Brahman boy and the Śambūka episode occur in the *Sṛṣṭikhaṇḍa*, ch. 32 of the *Pādma*. The Purāṇa adds that before Rāma is appraised of the boy's sudden death, the sages come and invite Rāma for a second visit to the forests (16-21); and before leaving for the forests, Rāma asks the Brahman to keep the body of his dead son preserved in an oil can till he returned from the forests (58-9).

After the above incident, Rāma calls on Agastya who tells the story of the Daṇḍaka forests, of king Śveta of the Vidarbhas who was eating his own flesh and Agastya giving Rāma a precious jewel which Śveta had given to Agastya. In the Daṇḍaka forests, as Rāma goes to a lake for evening Sandhyā worship a vulture and an owl quarrelling about the ownership of a nest on the tree present their case to Rāma. The story contains references to Rāma's qualities, emphasised by Vālmīki. Rāma's ministers are named with some usual variants or mistakes: Viṣṭi for Dhṛṣṭi, Dharmapāla for Mantrapāla and Sumantu for Sumantra (34.90-91). The vulture and owl who were in those bodies owing to curses regain their original form, thanks to Rāma.

On return to Ayodhyā, Rāma arranges to perform a Rājasūya. There is then a story of Rāma setting up a shrine for Vāmana in Kānyakubja (ch. 35).

There are still more possibilities of working out fresh episodes for Rāma, particularly when the *Puṣpaka Vimāna* was available. So the author of the Purāṇa gets further ideas after Rāma's second visit to the Daṇḍaka forests. Why not visits to Kiṣkindhā and Laṅkā? Certainly Vibhīṣaṇa and his rule over Laṅkā have to be seen and Bharata, who has only heard of the forests and the Vānara and Rākṣasa worlds must be taken and shown all these. So an account now follows of the visit of Rāma, with Bharata, to Kiṣkindhā and Laṅkā and a recapitulation of the sites of the *Rāmāyana*-incidents (ch. 35). At Kiṣkindhā, Tārā draws Rāma's tears by enquiring of Sītā and why Rāma came there without her (49-51). Taking Sugrīva they go to Laṅkā. Here it is said that it took only three days for the construction of the Setu (62, 'tribhir dinaiḥ'). The fire-ordeal is mentioned (71).

In Laṅkā, Vibhīṣaṇa extends a grand reception to Rāma but his wife Saramā, a great friend of Sītā, puts the same tragic question—

'where is Sītā' ? and Rāma throws up his arms and exclaims 'Kāla' 'Time'! (Sarvam kāla-kṛtam paśya) (112-7 ff).

From the point of view of the Rāma-traditions, what follows is interesting. Rāma takes the bow and severs the Setu into three portions (133-4) and then worships Śiva at Rāmeśvaram, the greatness of which holy spot is pronounced by Śiva in a series of verses (152-4).

Śiva then asks Rāma, at the conclusion of his Avatāra, to go back to His place in *Śvetadvīpa* (155). Vibhīṣaṇa gives Rāma an icon of Vāmana which had existed in Laṅkā which later, Rāma consecrates in Kānyakubja (124-6).

The same *Sṛṣṭikhaṇḍa* has the Ahalyā-story to illustrate the evil price of lust. Indra is said to have become marked with 'bhagas', 'bhagāṅka', all of which, by the grace of Devī, turned into eyes (51.4). When Indra visited Ahalyā in Gautama's guise, the sage is said to have gone to Puṣkara. Ahalyā said she was engrossed in the devotional routine at that time. The sage saw all this in his meditation, hastened home and saw Indra skulking out in the form of a cat and cursed that his body would become 'bhagāṅka' and bereft of testicles. The curse on Ahalyā, it may be noted, does not mention the stone of the popular tradition nor the invisibility in Vālmīki; it says: "Without flesh and nails, with bare bones and skin, you shall remain for all time, in the gaze of men and women" (33). At her request, he adds that this withered condition shall last till Rāma comes, with Lakṣmaṇa and Sītā, (Sītā-Lakṣmaṇasaṁyutaḥ 35), not before marrying Sītā, and along with Vasiṣṭha, not Viśvāmitra (35-40).

Indra then performed penance in propitiation of Devī Indrākṣī, by whose grace, the *bhagas* turned into eyes and Indra became *Sahasrākṣa*, with vital organs restored by the grafting of those of the ram (43-9).

The sixth book of the *Pādma* called *Uttarakhaṇḍa* has also some Rāma-material. It has a straight account of all the avatāras of Viṣṇu and the *Rāmāvatāra* forming part of this sub-section, extends to three chapters 269-71.

Among the wives of Daśaratha, Vālmīki does not speak of the parentage of Sumitrā and according to some recensions and traditions, there is a difference in her status, as I have shown in my paper on Rāmāyaṇa Quotations and Textual Criticism[1]. Kālidāsa mentions her as a *Magadha* Princess (*Raghu* IX. 17). The *Pādma* also, in this section, gives her as a Princess of *Magadha* (36).

Ayodhyā is said to be so-called because it is going to be the venue of the Lord's advent (42-4), recalling evidently the Vedic text, 'Devānām pūr ayodhyā'.

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[1] *Op. cit.* pp. 600-1.

Daśaratha is said to perform a Vaiṣṇava Yajña and being pleased with it, Viṣṇu offers to appear in the *Agnikuṇḍa* as his son (46-50), and taking a vessel of *pāyasa* in Lakṣmī's hands, gives it to Daśaratha. The month of Rāma's birth is Caitra and it is referred to in the present text as Viṣṇu-māsa (75), probably because Viṣṇu is one of the twelve Ādityas presiding over the twelve months and Viṣṇu is the the deity of Caitra. There are two further lines here about Rāma, the name given to the Lord: One links it, unusually, with His being the 'Ramaṇa' of Lakṣmī (74) and another which says that this Nāman is the essence of the *Viṣṇusahasranāma*:

सहस्रनाम्नां श्रीशस्य तुल्यम् (75)

which is evidently based on the traditional verse recited at the end of the *Viṣṇusahasranāma*:

सहस्रनामतस्तुल्यं रामनाम वरानने ।

In this account, the *Pādma* is influenced also by the *Bhāgavata* and its description of the birth of Kṛṣṇa, for it proceeds to say immediately that the mother Kausalyā saw all the Gods and the universe within Rāma's form, became frightened and asked him to display his childhood which would replace the fear by affection (88), and the Lord immediately shrank to the size of a child and also cried like an ordinary child (90). Bharata is said to be the manifestation of Lord's Conch, Lakṣmaṇa of Ananta and Śatrughna of the Sudarśana (93-4).

When going with Viśvāmitra towards his Siddhāśrama, the Purāṇa says that Garuḍa came invisibly and gave Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa divine bows, arrows etc. (116-7).

After death at Rāma's hands, demoness Tāṭakā is said to go to Vaikuṇṭha (121).

The occasion in Mithilā prompting Viśvāmitra to go there with Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa is said to be a Vājapeya sacrifice (132); in Vālmīki this is not specifically stated.

The stone-form of Ahalyā is mentioned (134).

After the loss of Sītā, Rāma went about hills and rivers asking the whereabouts of Sītā and as river Mandākinī did not say anything, he cursed that her waters would become red but, on the request of sages, said that the waters would become clean again when Śabarī bathed there, thus creating a Śabarī-tīrtha on the river (272-277).

The Purāṇa has a deviation in the episode of Rāma crossing the sea. He is said to propitiate it with austerities and when it is irresponsive he is said to dry it up completely with his arrows and that when its lord came round, Rāma refilled the sea with his *Vāruṇa-astra* (295-6).

On the fall of Rāvaṇa, when the Gods praise Rāma, they refer to Rāvaṇa and Kumbhakarṇa as the Lord's own former door-keepers under the curse of sages Sanaka etc. and it was for their own release that Sītā was abducted by one of them (332-4).

At the time of the coronation, the list of ministers is again given with some new wrong readings (chap. 270. 14-15).

This account mentions the dates of some important events but fails to give the same for the coronation.

Rāma performing the Aśvamedha with a golden image of Sītā is mentioned (271.14).

The return of Sītā with Vālmīki and her disappearance with Mother Earth are narrated as in Vālmīki with the addition that from the bosom of Earth, Sītā mounted Garuḍa and ascended to Her own heavenly station (271-31).

In the account of the last stage of Rāma's life the Purāṇa follows Vālmīki.

Regarding Vibhīṣaṇa, Vālmīki says at the end of the Coronation (*Yuddha*, 131-87) that he returned to Laṅkā, and got the *kula-dhana* from Rāma. It has been understood traditionally that this 'kula-dhana' is the image of God Raṅganātha which is at Srirangam. On this the *Pādma* is very explicit here, referring to the gift as *Raṅgaśāyin* and *Ikṣvākukuladhana* (271.63-64). Hanumān is blessed by Rāma that he will live as long as Rāma's own fame stands in the worlds.

The above narration is given by Śiva to Pārvatī and in other texts also, it may be noted, Śiva and Pārvatī have been associated with *Rāma-māhātmya*. The narrative has several phrases, ideas and sometimes actual lines of Vālmīki imbedded into its text.

In ch. 72 of *Uttara-khaṇḍa*, there is an elaborate *Viṣṇu-sahasranāma Stotra* spoken by Śiva to Pārvatī (133 ff) at the end of which Śiva says (335) that if one is not able to repeat the thousand names, it is enough if he recites the name *Rāma*; and the well-known verse with this idea, which we recite at the end of the celebrated *Viṣṇusahasranāma Stotra*, is then given:

राम रामेति रामेति रमे रामे मनोरमे ।
सहस्रनाम तत्तुल्यं राम नाम वरानने ॥

There is another context in this *Uttarakhaṇḍa* where there is a reference to the Rāma-story. It is found in ch. 105 in the Jālandhara-Vṛndā story. Vṛndā who is offended at Viṣṇu's conduct curses him that his own two door-keepers will become demons and carry off his wife (in one of his incarnations) and he will wander in grief, along with Śeṣa (in the form of Lakṣmaṇa) and driven to take the aid of monkeys (105.28-32).

Ch. 230 of the same *Uttarakhaṇḍa* narrates the story of the death of a Brahman boy of Ayodhyā and the *Śambūka-vadha.*

(14)

The *Varāhapurāṇa*, as we have it now[1], has no *Rāmāyaṇa* in it but in the stories relating to the greatness of Mathurā, refers to some incidents of the Rāma-story in its own way. This is in ch. 163 in Mathurā-māhātmya in the description of the shrine named Kapila-varāha. This image of Varāha was with Indra; Rāvaṇa who went to vanquish Indra, prayed to Varāha and requested Him to come to Laṅkā and Varāha refused as Rāvaṇa was no Vaiṣṇava. Rāvaṇa protested that he was one and Varāha went with him. On Rāma's victory over Laṅkā, the image was brought to Ayodhyā and from Rāma, Śatrughna who rid Mathurā of Lavaṇa, got it as a reward and established it in Mathurā.

(15)

The *Narasimhapurāṇa,*[2] is an *Upapurāṇa* and one quite interesting for our present theme. The *Rāmāyaṇa* figures here as part of the accounts of the *Avatāras* of Viṣṇu and occupies six chapters 47-52. This *Upapurāṇa* is assigned by Dr. R. C. Hazra to a period not later than 500 A.D.[3] but as I have shown separately[4] and as would be clear as I go on with its text, it seems to be very much later. Not only does it draw upon Kālidāsa, but it bears also the influence of the classical Rāma-dramas, coming down probably to as late as the 12th Century A.D.

Sage Mārkaṇḍeya's narration of the *Rāmāyaṇa*-story begins here in ch. 47. I shall mention only the noteworthy points of deviation and source.

1. When Daśaratha hesitates to send Rāma immediately with Viśvāmitra, he does not speak of his own inability to stand the separation, as he does in Vālmīki, but takes shelter under Kausalyā who might die of separation from Rāma (46-56).

2. 47.58. The idea that apart from Rāma being an incarnation of Nārāyaṇa, Lakṣmaṇa was a manifestation of Śeṣa, is stated here.

3. 47.82 in a longer metre, describing Tāṭakā is just Kālidāsa, *Raghuvaṁśa* XI.17; also the words on Tāṭakā's death, 'Sā papāta mamāra ca' are Vālmīki, 1.26.26.

4. 47.118-126. After Rāma breaks Siva's bow and wins the hand of Sītā, the suitor-kings at the Svayaṁvara join together and fight Rāma and then follows a brief description of the battle in which Janaka also helps Rāma. This is evidently after a similar description in the *Raghuvaṁśa*, canto VII, where Aja fights the suitors after winning Indumatī at her Svayaṁvara.

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[1] Ptd., Venkateswara Press. There seems to have been another *Varāha* answering to the characteristics of the original Mahāpurāṇa of that name.

[2] Gopal Narayan & Co. Bombay, 1911.

[3] *Studies in the Upapurāṇas,* Vol. I, Sanskrit College, Calcutta, 1958, p. 239.

[4] The Date of the Narasiṁha Purāṇa, *Gonda Felicitation Volume,* E. J. Brill, 1972.

5. 47.143-5. The efficacy of reciting Rāma's Name (*Rāma-nāma*) or reading his story and Rāma being Para-Brahman, all these show that the Rāma-cult had been fully established by the time of this text. Later, Guha is expressly designated as a *Vaiṣṇava* (98.187).

6. The Paraśurāma-encounter is touched off by this Purāṇa in its own way. As soon as the bow-twang was heard on both sides, the effulgence of Viṣṇu left Paraśurāma's body and even as all beings were looking on, entered Rāma's face. Immediately Paraśurāma became tranquil, declared Rāma as Viṣṇu's Avatāra, blessed him to carry out the divine mission of *Duṣṭa-śikṣaṇa* and *Śiṣṭa-paripālana* and retired to Mt. Mahendra to continue his penance (47.148-53).

7. In Vālmīki, at the end of the marriage, at Mithilā itself, Viśvāmitra takes leave and goes away to the 'northern mountain'—'Jagāmottaraparvatam' (I. 74-1). But in this Purāṇa, Viśvāmitra comes along with the party to Ayodhyā and after receiving due honours from Daśaratha, returns to his former place, the *Siddhāśrama* (47. 157-9).

8. When the brothers Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa, together with Sītā, leave for the forest, Sumitrā blesses her son Lakṣmaṇa and asks him to consider Rāma as Daśaratha, Sītā as herself (*i.e.* mother) and the forest as Ayodhyā (48.66-7). This is a well-known verse from Vālmīki, with only the last foot changed.

9. 49.39-44. In the Śūrpaṇakhā-episode the line,

कलत्रवानहं बाले कनीयांसं भजस्व मे । (40)

is Kālidāsa's *Raghuvaṁśa* XII. 34.

It is interesting to note here further that Śūrpaṇakhā says that if Rāma was not able to take her as wife, he might give a *letter* (*Patraka*) to Lakṣmaṇa to accept her; Rāma gives a letter but asks Lakṣmaṇa in that letter to cut her nose and the latter obeys his brother.

10. Reference was made when dealing with the *Rāmopākhyāna* in the *Mahābhārata* to the use of the *Puṣpaka Vimāna* by Rāvaṇa. According to Vālmīki, Rāvaṇa goes to Mārīca and Pañcavaṭī in an aerial Ratha with asses and not in the *Puṣpaka*. But this Purāṇa mentions four times the *Puṣpaka* as Rāvaṇa's vehicle on this occasion (49.56, 60, 65).

11. A highly interesting innovation introduced by the Purāṇa is the ruse adopted by Rāvaṇa to carry off Sītā. In Vālmīki, on the eve of the battle, a brain-wave occurs to one of Rāvaṇa's counsellors, Vajradaṁṣṭra, that they might impersonate as envoys of Bharata come from Ayodhyā, meet Rāma and his forces, and overpower them (VI. 8. 12-18). The *Narasiṁhapurāṇa* uses this motif for Rāvaṇa carrying off Sītā (48.78-83). Rāvaṇa tells Sītā here that Bharata has come from Ayodhyā and is talking with Rāma yonder, the deer has

been caught for her pleasure, and she along with all of them and Lakṣmaṇa will now go to Ayodhyā in the chariot he has brought and thus makes Sītā get upon the *Vimāna*.

12. 49.95-6. Sītā expressly blesses Jaṭāyus after his heroic but unsuccessfull effort to rescue her, that Jaṭāyus will attain by the grace of Rāma, the world of Viṣṇu.

13. 50,32-3. Kiṣkindhā is referred to as Pampāpura and Mālyavat-Prasravaṇa as Mt. Nīlakaṇṭha.

14. Svayaṁprabhā, the Apsaras in penance in the cave is called Suprabhā; in the *Rāmopākhyāna*, she is Prabhāvatī. Suprabhā plays a further part in the present Purāṇa (50. 24-34). She tells the monkeys that she knows the whole story of Rāma and the loss of Sītā and directs them to Saṁpāti on Mt. Mahendra and blesses that Hanumān, among them, will discover Sītā.

15. 51.1-2. The two opening verses of ch. 51 on Hanumān's flight in search of Sītā are almost identical with the opening verse and verse 8 of canto 1 of the *Sundarakāṇḍa* of Vālmīki, (Southern).

16. 52.11. Rāma's lying down in Prāyopaveśa on the sea-coast is said to have been for three nights. '*Supte*[1] Rāme gatam tatra trirātram'. Then when the battle is to begin, Rāma sends Aṅgada on the zero-hour mission asking Rāvaṇa to return Sītā and avoid war. Curiously this incident is given in the Purāṇa in brief prose and verses (52.21-32), most of which occur in the same sequence in the one-act Rāma play on this theme, the *Dūtāṅgada* by poet Subhaṭa of the 12th Cent. A.D. Of this more in the separate paper of mine on the Purāṇa, its date etc.[2]

17. 52.68. The Purāṇa assigns the killing of Virūpākṣa to Vibhīṣaṇa; in Vālmīki, as I have already pointed out, no actual killing of a Rākṣasa is mentioned against Vibhīṣaṇa; it is Sugrīva who kills Virūpākṣa.

18. 52.96-97. The Purāṇa knows the *Ādityahṛdaya* and mentions the episode of Rāma reciting it at the instance of Agastya and getting also from the sage the Vaiṣṇava bow. This latter is an addition by the Purāṇa, but it has its basis in Vālmīki, where at Rāma's first contact with Agastya in his Āśrama, in the beginning of the *Āraṇyakāṇḍa* (12.41 32), Agastya gives Rāma the Vaiṣṇava bow manufactured by Viśvakarman, and an arrow which Brahmā Himself gave and two quivers of inexhaustible arrows given by Mahendra, a gold-ornamented sword in a silver sheath, for Rāma's victory. This is a crucial episode of the Epic and it may be noticed that Agastya adds

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[1] 'Supta' means not 'slept' but just 'was lying down', śayāna' as Govindarāja on Vālmīki explains.

[2] 'The Date of the Narasiṁhapurāṇa', *Gonda Fel. Vol.*

here that it was with this bow that Viṣṇu fought the Asuras and recovered *Śrī* (34).

19. The Purāṇa says that on the fall of Rāvaṇa, the Gods appear and hail the victory of Rāma and Brahma praises Rāma with a *Stotra*. This *Stotra* by Gods and Brahmā occurs in Vālmīki (VI. 210) after Sītā's fire-ordeal and with special reference to it. The Purāṇa reverses the order and also gives this *Stotra* the name *Amoghastotra* (52-113). This name is evidently based on the concluding verse of the *Stotra* in Vālmīki describing its merits with the word *Amogha* (never-failing) repeated four times (28):

अमोघं बलवीर्यं ते अमोघस्ते पराक्रमः ।
अमोघं दर्शनं राम न ते मोघः स्तवस्तव ॥

20. Sītā's fire-ordeal which is mentioned after this (52.67-18) is just touched upon with two brief statements that the Gods declared her pure and Rāma took that pure or purified (*pūtā*) Sītā on the *Vimāna*.

21. In only one ms. of the Purāṇa, there are two verses mentioning here (52.19-20) Rāma consecrating Śiva on the *Setu* with the name Rāmeśvara and getting Śiva's blessing. This is a matter of some textual complexity but need not be discussed here, especially as the Purāṇa has it in only one ms.

There is only one more point to be touched upon before we take leave of this Upapurāṇa. There is some amount of material on Sun-worship (*Saura*) in this text, in the beginning. Ch. 20 gives a *Stotra* of the names of the Sun with which Viśvakarman adored the Sun. Verses 1-6 of this are more or less reproduced from the *Ādityahṛdaya* in the Southern text of Vālmīki. In the other eight verses, some of the Sun-names of the *Ādityahṛdaya* occur in a stray manner[1].

(16)

The *Kalki purāṇa*[2], one of the Upapurāṇas and a short one in extent, deals in its third Aṁśa, 3. 24-57, with the Rāma-story. The resume is told in verses in the Pṛthvī-metre and there is nothing striking here except one point at the very end. In Vālmīki, in the *Uttarakāṇḍa*, in the three recensions, Rāma says in general that he will take back Sītā if there is a public demonstration of her purity and it is said that, immediately, all Gods gather and declare her purity. But in the *Kalki*, Rāma expressly says that she might again undergo a fire-ordeal. But in Vālmīki, as well as in the *Agni* here, Sītā calls upon her Mother, Earth, to take her and disappears into her bosom.

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[1] I have fully dealt with the texts known as *Ādityahṛdaya* in the *New Catalogus Catalogorum*, II. pp. 16-9.

[2] Kavyaprakasa Yantra, Calcutta.

(17)

The *Viṣṇudharmottara*, an Upapurāṇa, was known to Alberuni and in its present encyclopaedic form, its text may be assigned, as Winternitz says, to a period between the 7th cent. and 1000 A.D.

Khaṇḍa I of this text deals in chs. 198-200 with the geneology of the Rākṣasas and speaks of Rāvaṇa's birth and also of Lavaṇa of Mathurā.

The speciality of the *Viṣṇudharmottara*-account here is its expatiation on Bharata's prowess and victories over the Śailūṣas on the N.W. This is to be had in chs. 201-11 and also later in chs. 254-269.

Like the *Nāradīya purāṇa*, the *Viṣṇudharmottara* also gives the idea of the four brothers representing the four *Vyūhas*—Rāma-Vāsudeva, Lakṣmaṇa-Saṁkarṣaṇa, Bharata-Pradyumna, Śatrughna-Aniruddha (212. 21-22).

Chs. 218-223 relate the stories of the Rākṣasas of Pātāla and Laṅkā, Sumāli, his daughter Kaikasī marrying Viśravas and giving birth to Rāvaṇa and his brothers and sister Śūrpaṇakhā, their jealousy of Kubera and his *Puṣpaka Vimāna* and the several exploits of Rāvaṇa, misadventures and consequent curses that he invited on his head. In 221-4, the curse of King Anaraṇya of the Ikṣvāku dynasty whom Rāvaṇa killed, viz., that a descendent of his will kill Rāvaṇa,-which is mentioned by Vālmīki-is referred to. There is a description also of Rāvaṇa's violence towards Kuśadhvaja's daughter in penance—Vedavatī (17 ff). One of the lustful verses he utters to Vedavatī here (221.27) is what he says to Sītā in the *Sundara Kāṇḍa* in Vālmīki (V. 20.13). त्वां कृत्वोपरतो मन्ये etc.

In the end of the story, when describing Sītā's final prayer to Mother Earth to take her into the latter's bosom and the qualities of Rāma and *Rāmarājya*, many lines from Vālmīki are reproduced (65.71).

Ch. 222 describing Rāvaṇa's attempt at Kailāsa says that because of the terrible cry (*Rāva*) that he made when Śiva pressed the mountain and thereby made the world also cry in fright, he came to be called Rāvaṇa (12-17), —which is a new explanation. Rāvaṇa is said to have carried a golden Śivaliṅga for worship wherever he went.

Śatrughna's expedition against Lavaṇa, the latter's destruction, Śatrughna founding the City of Mathurā and the birth of Kuśa and Lava at Vālmīki's Āśrama are described in chs. 242-7.

In ch. 248, the creation of birds and animals, and vultures and monkeys especially is described and the account of the vultures here has lines reproduced from Vālmīki (III.14). This account continues for some chapters, with the genelology of the Vānaras and their fight with elephants beginning in 252.

Ch. 254 resumes the remaining accounts of Bharata's wars against the Śailūṣas into which the above descriptions are wedged. Bharata's expedition progresses leisurely in the *Mahākāvya* style with several love-descriptions in between. After this victory, he establishes his sons Puṣkara and Takṣa at the two cities there known after them (269.14) and returns to Ayodhyā.

(18)

The *Saurapurāṇa*[1] is an Upapurāṇa devoted to Śiva with whom Sūrya is identified. Ch. 30 of this Purāṇa gives, in the course of its history of the ancient dynasties, an account of Ikṣvāku's line. In the very brief account of the *Rāmāyaṇa* here, verses 48-69, the only point to be noted is the stress laid on Śaivite elements, most prominently the setting up by Rāma of a *Śivaliṅga*, Rāmeśvara, at the *Setu* whose *darśana* destroys the most heinous sins, the performance of Aśvamedha by Rāma being for the propitiation of Śiva and Rāma's two sons, Kuśa and Lava being devotees of Mahādeva.

(19)

I have presented the material pertaining to different Purāṇic texts bearing the name *Ādipurāṇa* in *NCG.* II. pp. 83-5. One of these texts printed by Venkateswara Press (1908) and called 'Nārada-Śaunaka-Saṁvāda' describes itself extravagantly as the essence of all Purāṇas and deals exclusively with the stories and worship of Kṛṣṇa. Hazra considers it probable that this is a post-Caitanya or at least post-Muhammedan work.[2]

The printed text which is incomplete includes (in ch. 16, verses 29-69) a resume of the story of Rāma which Lord Kṛṣṇa gives Nanda in the latter's dream. The author knows the text of Vālmīki minutely. Two points here may be noted : Rāvaṇa tells Mārīca that he too knows Rāma as Viṣṇu come down on earth to relieve earth of her burden but he could not control his mind and Rāma, in his turn, tells Sītā that the golden deer is really the magic of a demon but she would not give up her obsession for it (65, 72-3).

(20)

The *Jaiminīya Aśvamedha* is the *Āśvamedhika Parvan* of the *Jaimini Bhārata*, a whole version of the *Bhārata* supposed to have been spoken by Jaimini to Janamejaya. It is published by the Venkateswara Press in a separate volume.

Even as it opens, it speaks of Rāma. Vyāsa who persuaded Yudhiṣṭhira to perform the *Aśvamedha* mentions Rāma doing that sacrifice thrice (1.14). In ch. 2 while speaking of *satsaṅga*, the text speaks of a piece of stone becoming sanctified by contact with Rāma's feet (2.28) which is a reference to the Ahalyā-story. According to Vālmīki there is no change of Ahalyā into a stone but Kālidāsa knew the stone-tradition and I have discussed this stone-motif in my paper previously referred to, 'Rāmāyaṇa Quotations and Textual Criticism'[1]. In the same chapter later (84), Bharata is said to have accompanied the horse on its rounds in Rāma's *Aśvamedha*, although in the actual description of Rāma's horse-sacrifice which is to be given, the text has a different account.

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[1] *Ānandāśrama Series* 18.

[2] *Op. cit.* p. 288.

Ch. 22 describes Arjuna with the sacrificial horse, roaming in the *Strīrājya*, the State of the Amazons, and then in the kingdom of a Rākṣasa named Bhīṣaṇa. The description of the diverse deformed demonesses here (30 ff) has identical names and parallels with those among the demoness-guards of Sītā in Vālmīki, *Sundarakāṇḍa*. Reference is made also to the slaughter of men which Rāvaṇa was indulging in. There is then an interesting account of the Rākṣasa women looking at Hanumān, *i.e.*, Hanumān seated on Arjuna's banner. They remember his killing of the Rākṣasas and get frightened. Then other Rākṣasīs join and one of them is described as trying to catch Hanumān with her long dangling breasts whirled round him! The fantastic attempt is described, curiously, at some length (56 ff). Hanumān flings them all away by brandishing his tail.

Then follows the encounter in Manipur between Arjuna and Babhruvāhana who was his own son by Ulūpi. This brings the parallel encounter in Rāma's *Aśvamedha* between Rāma's brothers, Śatrughna, Lakṣmaṇa and Bharata and their armies in charge of the roaming sacrificial horse and Rāma's own little sons Lava and Kuśa, without the identity of the two boys being known. This is a separate sub-section called *Kuśalavopākhyāna* extending to twelve chapters 25-36, and represented by a good number of independent mss.[2]. Janamejaya is anxious to hear the story of Rāma as it destroys all sins (25.3). The account of the story of Rāma, which then follows, begins with his victory in the battle in Laṅkā and represents a creative effort based on the *Uttarakāṇḍa* of Vālmīki. It knows Vālmīki's text and it bears the impact of Kālidāsa's *Raghuvaṁśa*, the cantos covering the *Uttarakāṇḍa* portion, as also the earlier cantos. It knows also Bhavabhūti's treatment of this part of the story in his *Uttararāmacarita*, although Bhavabhūti is not followed as such. As Witnernitz points out[3], the text knows Varāhamihira (55.8). The text is very much later than Bhavabhūti and Varāhamihira for, in addition to the *Mahābhārata* and *Harivaṁśa*, it mentions at the end of the chapter on the greatness of the Sālagrāma, the merits of reading, by the side of the Sālagrama, the *Bhāgavata*, the *Mahābhārata* and *Harivaṁśa*. No wonder that the text has, as part of its background, the whole cult of Rāma including the faith in the recitation of his Name, *Rāma-nāman* (27.60).

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1. *Op. cit.* p. 602.
2. See *NCC.* IV, p. 257-*a*.
3. *HIL.* English version, I.p. 586.

As already stated, the author of this text does not closely imitate Vālmīki or reproduce the latter's verses, but occasionally echoes of Vālmīki's words do occur.

I shall draw attention only to such places as are interesting from one point of view or another :

1. Sītā is said (26.2) to have conceived of Kuśa and Lava under the constellation presided over by Viṣṇu, *i.e.*, Śravaṇa, in its fourth pāda, in a cara-lagna, foreboding the living of the mother away from her home.

नक्षत्रे वैष्णवे तुर्ये पादे तद्देवताभिधे ।
चरे लग्ने प्रवृत्ते च मातुर्देशान्तरप्रदे ॥

2. It is when Sītā reaches the fifth month of her pregnancy that, when Rāma is one day with her in private, Rāma asks her about any *dohada*-desire she has. She expresses a longing to live again on the banks of the Ganges. Soon after this, one of Rāma's intelligence-men brings the report of a washerman making a sarcastic reference to Rāma bringing back his wife who had stayed with another. Before he hears this talk, he has had a dream of Sītā staying on the banks of the Ganges alone and weeping, foreboding the impending separation (28.4 ff).

3. There is a detailed description of Sītā's Pumsavana ceremony (10ff) which Viśvāmitra and Janaka attend.

4. On the basis of the meagre material in Vālmīki and Kālidāsa, the author works out, with conspicuous literary skill, and without much violence to the spirit of the Epic, the detailed discussion of Rāma with his brothers and the latter's replies, Lakṣmaṇa escorting Sītā to the Āśrama, his breaking to her the news of her exile and the conversation of the two and all the rest of it.

5. 28.33. While Kuśa and Lava are known in all the versions to sing the *Rāmāyaṇa* together with Viṇās, it is only in the present text that Lava is said to keep rhythm(Tāla) and Kuśa to sing with Viṇā.

लवस्तालधरश्चासीद्वीणाहस्तः कुशो जगौ ।

6. When the question of Rāma performing the *Aśvamedha* comes up, Rāma represents to the teacher Vasiṣṭha that Sītā should be represented by a golden image of hers (29.48). The golden image of Sītā is in Vālmīki in all the recensions (South. VII.91.24; 99.8. Gor. VII.98.26; 106.8; NW. VII.93.28; 101.8), it is known to Kālidāsa and figures in the dramas of the classical period.

7. The *Aśvamedha* horse which is to go round the country and return unchallenged is said to bear an inscribed placard in gold on its forehead proclaiming Rāma's suzerainty and inviting anyone so minded to challenge it.

8. First Śatrughna is ordered to escort this horse and after his discomfiture at the hands of Lava and Kuśa who capture the horse,

Lakṣmaṇa and Bharata go and meet with the same fate in their fight with the two boys. Then Rāma comes but struck by the circumstances of the encounter, refrains from the fight and identifies Lava and Kuśa as his own sons.

9. In the midst of his fight with Śatrughna, Lava, whose bow was broken, is made to pray to the Sun with a hymn, even as Rāma did in the final stage of his battle with Rāvaṇa ; and in this connection a hymn to the Sun in eight verses is given. Pleased with the prayer, the Sun gives Lava a divine bow.

10. When Bharata goes to the aid of Śatrughna and Lakṣmaṇa, Rāma asks Hanumān, Jāmbavān, Sugrīva and other monkeys to go along with the army (35.55 ff.).

11. When Rāma insists on knowing who they, Lava and Kuśa, are and after some nonchalant replies, Kuśa gives the information, Kuśa refers to the *Rāmāyaṇa* taught to them by Vālmīki as 'providing peace and joy to the minds of the good, clarity of vision, and well-being of the intellect and the heart and increase of valour' (44.6), and adds that their success over Rāma's forces is itself due to the Epic.

12. When these confrontations take place, Sītā and Vālmīki are not in the *Āśrama*. They come in the last stage of the fight.

13. Then, when Vālmīki visits Rāma's *Aśvamedha*, a union takes place of Rāma, Sītā, and the two sons but suddenly the text says that Rāma placed all his love for Sītā on the two sons. There is no mention of how Sītā disappeared (81-3). Here the line in the text,

रामः सीतागतं स्नेहं विदधे तदपत्ययोः । (83)

is just Kālidāsa's *Raghuvaṁśa* XV.86 (with *Vidadhe* for *nidadhe*).

The above narration of Rāma's *Aśvamedha* ends with a *Phalaśruti* (90) which is the same as one of the verses of the *Phalaśruti* of the *Mahābhārata* (I.2.384), namely, that before a recital of this, even the cuckoo's sound is harsh like a crow's.

A further reference to the *Uttarakāṇḍa* story is in ch.45, verse 41 mentioning Rāma reviving the dead boy of a Brahman of Ayodhyā[1].

(21)

The *Devī-bhāgavata*, which contends with the *Śrīmad Bhāgavata* for the place in the list of 18 Mahāpurāṇas, is perhaps the first of the texts on Devī so far known to relate the *Rāmāyaṇa* with Her worship. To a question of Janamejaya as to how Rāma observed the *Devī-vrata* and how he regained his kingdom and wife which he had lost, Vyāsa narrates in brief in chs. 28-30 the story of Rāma. What is found here may have served as the basis for the further elaborate treatment of this subject in Purāṇic texts like *Kālikā*, *Mahābhāgavata* and *Bṛhaddharma*. There are no major deviations in the story here, except for its integration with the worship of Devī during Śārada Navarātri.

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[1] There is a text called *Jaiminīya Rāmāyaṇa*, available in a fagmentary ms. in the Madras Govt. Ori. Mss. Library (R. No. 3814-a). The available three chapters deal with the life of Vālmīki, born of Varuṇa, but brought up by a hunter, his hunter's life, his meeting the seven sages and getting initiated in the recitation of Rāma's name; the colophon gives the text the alternative name 'Rāma-nāma-māhātmya'.

The text knows Sītā as a manifestation of Lakṣmī which it mentions twice (28.13; 30.13) and it adds also, without mentioning the name Vedavatī, that Sītā is the same as the sage's daughter whom Rāvaṇa approached in lust and held by the tresses, and who had cursed the demon that she would be reborn to destroy him (30.9-12).

When Rāvaṇa approaches Sītā and introduces himself, he adds that he would have been an actual suitor at her Svayaṁvara but for the fact that the bow to be strung was Śiva's (28.68).

After the loss of Sītā, as Rāma keeps sorrowing over his fate and lack of help in the forests, Lakṣmaṇa who consoles him says, far ahead of meeting Sugrīva, that the forests were full of monkeys who could be employed for search in all quarters (29.41) or they could make Bharata or Janaka come to their aid with forces. He adds also the examples of their heroic ancestors like Raghu who had achieved many things and also examples of ancient kings who had suffered like Rāma (43-53).

At this stage, Nārada is introduced and he explains the divine plan behind all that has happened. He says he has seen Sītā in *Aśoka-vana* in Rāvaṇa's custody and refers to Indra having given her divine food that would sustain her during the privation. The only additional detail in Nārada's information is that this divine food is Kāmadhenu's milk (16-17). The sage then asks Rāma to observe the *Navarātra-vrata* with *upavāsa* and cites the examples of those who had done so in the past and gained their objectives. Rāma obeys Nārada and Devī appears and blesses him.

The Purāṇa mentions also the monkeys as partial manifestations of gods and Lakṣmaṇa, of Śeṣa (30. 55-6).

(22)

The *Mahābhāgavata* is a small Purāṇic text of 81 chs. printed by the Gujarat Printing Press, Bombay (1913). It is wholly devoted to the worship of Devī as the Supreme Being. Its status among the 18 Purāṇas and Upapurāṇas is doubtful, but the *Bṛhaddharma-purāṇa* puts it in the Mahāpurāṇa-list. It does so because all its material on Devī and its harnessing of the *Rāmāyaṇa* for Devī-māhātmya are completely and directly derived from the *Mahābhāgavata* with occasional omissions and some elaborations, the core being *verbatim* reproduction. Noteworthy details here will be given under the *Bṛhaddharma*. Here a few, not repeated in the *Bṛhaddharma*, may be mentioned :

38.1-2: Nārada initiates Rāma and his brothers in Devī-mantras.

42.64 : The story-tradition that Sītā was Maṇḍodarī's daughter is also mentioned abruptly, to heighten Rāvaṇa's crime.

From ch. 43 onwards, Rāma's worship of Devī and several details of Devī-worship during the Śārada Navarātri are elaborated, *e.g.*, the setting of clay-images of the Goddess, the form of worship and offerings on each day, the *Devī sūkta* and *stuti*, all these with the special objective of victory on the battle-field.

From ch. 47, the battle of Rāma and Rāvaṇa is resumed which Rāma brings to a successful end on Daśamī ; and the account ends in ch. 48 emphasising again the need for everyone to worship Devī during the Śārada Navarātri and as part of it to listen to the *Rāmāyaṇa.*

(23)

On the Upapurāṇa bearing the name *Kālikāpurāṇa* and printed by the Venkateswara Press (1907), I have published a detailed study[1] and shown how it was most probably composed in Assam and in the period A.D. 700-1000. Ch. 30 of this Purāṇa narrates, in connection with the story of the birth of Naraka, the story of Earth giving Sītā to Janaka. Janaka hears that King Daśaratha was issueless like himself and got his four sons by performing a sacrifice under the direction of Ṛśyaśṛṅga and then decides to perform a sacrifice for the sake of progeny. When the ground was being ploughed by him for the sacrifice, Earth gave him Sītā and mentioned that Sītā would be the instrument for the removal of Earth's burden by getting Rāvaṇa, Kumbhakarṇa and other Rākṣasas removed.

The *Kālikā* is one of the sources for the widespread tradition linking Devī and her Navarātri festival with the 'Rāma-Rāvaṇa-yuddha' and Rāma's victory over Rāvaṇa. Ch. 62 of this *Purāṇa* dealing with *Durgā-mahotsava* says that Devī was alerted by Brahmā about the need to assist Rāma and bring about the fall of Rāvaṇa (24). Devī appeared in Laṅkā and remaining invisible, engaged Rāma and Rāvaṇa in battle for seven days ; on the Navamī, She brought about Rāvaṇa's death (29). She was worshipped by Gods all the seven nights and on the ninth, Brahmā himself conducted a special worship for her (30-1). The Purāṇa adds that although this 'Rāma-Rāvaṇa-yuddha' took place in Tretāyuga, it takes place in every Kalpa and Rāmas and Rāvaṇas continue to appear and Devī continues to engage them in battle and see that Rāmas win and Rāvaṇas are vanquished; that is why Devī is worshipped always and lights are waved before armies during this season.

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[1] *JOR.* Madras XII. pp. 331-360. See p. 345 for a description here of Śiprā reminding one of that of Pampā in Vālmīki.

नृणां त्रेतायुगस्यादौ जगतां हितकाम्यया ।
पुराकल्पे यथावृत्तं प्रतिकल्पं तथा तथा ॥
प्रवर्तते स्वयं देवो दैत्यानां नाशनाय वै ।
प्रतिकल्पं भवेद्रामो रावणश्चापि राक्षसः ॥
तथैव जायते युद्धं तथा त्रिदशसंगमः ।
एवं रामसहस्राणि रावणानां सहस्रशः ॥
भवितव्यानि भूतानि तथा देवी प्रवर्तते । (38-41)

This worship of Devī by Rāma explains the tradition of the pageant of *Rāmalīlā* in North India during Dasarah and also the *pārāyaṇa* and exposition of the *Rāmāyaṇa* during the same season in South India.

(24)

The *Bṛhaddharmapurāṇa* (*Bibl. Ind.* 1897) is the last of the Upapurāṇas and a very late work, as I have shown in my analysis of the music material in it[1]. Hazra places it in the 13th or 14th cent. A.D.[2]. This late date does not deflate its literary interest, as this is a notable example of a sustained and well-organised indigenous type of literary appreciation of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and Vālmīki, adopting the Purāṇic style. It has its further importance as one of the texts on Devī-worship which includes the *Rāmāyaṇa* as part of the *māhātmya* of Devī. There are thus two sections relevant to our present subject, in the *Bṛhaddharma*.

In its first section, the Purāṇa deals with different kinds of *Tīrthas* and in its conception of *Tīrthas*, not only holy waters, but also sacred trees, sacred places (*Deśa-tīrthas*) and sacred days and seasons (*Kāla-tīrthas*) are included. When dealing with the last, *Kāla-tīrthas*, Devī who is the Speaker, describes the *Mahālaya-pakṣa* sacred to the ancestors (*pitṛs*) in the dark fortnight of *Āśvayuk* (September) which is followed immediately by the Dasarah season, now on, which also is of greatest importance for Devī's worship. On the request to be enlightened on the festival of Śārada Navarātri, Devī starts (ch.68) narrating the *Rāmāyaṇa* which is closely related to Her. As already remarked, this matter is almost the same as found in the work called the *Mahābhāgavata*, with a large number of verses drawn from the latter.

The following points may be noted in this Devī-ised version of the *Rāmāyaṇa*:

1. After Viṣṇu is petitioned to by Brahmā and other Gods (ch.18) for the removal of Rāvaṇa, all of them including Viṣṇu, go to Śiva and Pārvatī ; without their co-operation, the mission could not

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[1] *J. of the Music Academy*, Madras IX. 1938. pp. 37-39.

[2] *Op. cit.* p. 277.

be achieved, for Rāvaṇa is a worshipper of Śiva and Devī is also stationed in Laṅkā for his protection. Devī says that She will quit Laṅkā at a particular time, following Rāvaṇa's affront to Sītā. Śiva offers to incarnate as Hanumān to further the cause and Brahmā as Jāmbavān. *Dharma* becomes Vibhīṣaṇa.

2. 19.36. This text describes the demon Virādha as son of Danu. In Vālmīki, the three recensions give three different names to Virādha's father, the Southern *Jaya* (III.3.6), Gorresio, *Kāla* (III.7.20) and N.W. *Jagat* (?) (III.5.27).

3. When Rāvaṇa brought Sītā and placed her in Aśokavana (19.55), the text refers to Indra providing her with divine food, at the instance of Brahmā. This is found in Vālmīki, in a canto marked in the Southern text as an addition, but forming a regular part of Gorresio (63rd) and N.W. (63rd).

4. After Hanumān meets Sītā, he discovers in the Aśokavana a shrine to Caṇḍikā, represents to the Goddes his mission, reveals himself as an incarnation of Śiva and asks Her to quit so that Rāvaṇa could be done away with (20.13ff). This is already told at the beginning but a further addition is the *Viśvarūpa* of Hanumān-Śiva, within which Devī sees the whole Rākṣasa army in a perilous position and those on Rāma's side safe and happy. Devī gives Her blessings to Rāma when She leaves Laṅkā.

5. From the beginning of the plans for war, *i.e.*, from Kiṣkindhā onwards, the Purāṇa keeps mentioning the month and date (*Tithi*) of all major events. During the whole of the *Mahālaya-pakṣa*, Rāma performs the *pitṛ-śrāddha* and then goes to the battle (19.34). Brahmā and other Gods come and see Devī in a *Bilva* tree and pray to Her. She promises that on *Aśvina Navamī*, *i.e.*, on the ninth day of the *Navarātri* in the afternoon, Rāvaṇa will be killed (22.15,25). The date of the fall of each Rākṣasa is then given (19.25). On the *Vijayadaśamī* morning, Rāma saw Sītā again (22.52).

6. This text also speaks of Rāma establishing the idol of Śiva for worship on the *Setu* (22.59).

The second section which glorifies Vālmīki and his *Rāmāyaṇa* extends from ch. 25 to 30, upto the end of the first *Khaṇḍa* of the Purāṇa.

This description begins with the creation of *Vāk* or Sound as the first manifestation, of letters and speech and then of grammar, philosophy, codes of right conduct and the Purāṇas and *Mantras*. After a list of the eighteen major and eighteen minor Purāṇas and some *Saṁhitās*, the *Rāmāyaṇa* of Vālmīki is mentioned as the *Mahākāvya* and source and model of all *Itihāsa-Purāṇa* literature (25.28-30). Brahmā asks Sarasvatī to proceed from His own four faces to the faces of poets (25.46) and her first manifestation is through Vālmīki on Tamasā banks, when Vālmīki is immersed in the sorrow of the *Krauñca* bird shot down by the hunter. Vālmīki's utterance of the first *Śloka* 'mā niṣāda' is described (66-7) and is said to have been hailed in all the three worlds (69).

Vālmīki is commanded to compose the *Rāmāyaṇa* and Sarasvatī blesses him that all poets will follow and imitate him. The *Rāmāyaṇa* is Rāma Himself and the Purāṇa proceeds to set forth the 'Rāmāyaṇa Kavaca', mentioning the chief incidents of the Epic and describing it as an embodiment of the eighteen *Tattvas* and the *Mahāmantra*. The Epic is also said to consist of seven *Kāṇḍas*. It propounds all *Dharmas* and on those who read it during *Śārada Navarātri*, Devī bestows salvation (ch. 26).

Pleased with Vālmīki's achievement Brahmā asks him to compose the *Mahābhārata* but Vālmīki says: 'I have composed the *Rāmāyaṇa*, which is the sure means of salvation. I am free from doubt, agitation and illusion; it is futile to compose another work.'

कृतं रामायणं व्रह्मन् व्यक्तं मोक्षस्य साधनम् ।
निःसन्देहो ह्यहं भूतः क्षोभमोहविवर्जितः ॥
किमर्थमपरं ग्रन्थं करिष्यामि वृथोद्यतः । (27. 6-7)

If Vyāsa comes, Vālmīki adds (27.6-7), he would give Vyāsa the eternal seeds of poetry (Kāvyabījam sanātanam) (11). Later, Vyāsa and other sages come to Vālmīki (Ch. 30) and he imparts to them the seed, essence and matrix of poetry for composing the *Mahābhārata* and the Purāṇas. Vālmīki adds in conclusion: "In the *Mahābhārata* and the Purāṇas, wherever Rāma's story comes, there my Spirit will animate you all".

तेषु तेषु पुराणेषु महाभारत एव च ।
यत्र रामचरितं(त्रं) स्यात् तदहं तत्र शक्तिमान् ॥ (30.51)

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APPENDIX

P. 30, fn. 1 of the *Lectures*

Add : See p. 55, fn. 1 *Pādma*, Sṛṣṭi, ch. 6, śls. 63 ff. and p. 64, *Viṣṇudharmottara*, ch. 248.

P. 37. *Vāyu*

Ch. 108 here dealing with *Gayā-māhātmya*, mentions Rāma and Bharata, a *Rāmatīrtha*, and the merit of performing *Srāddha* there.

In ch. 48, vv. 26-29, in the *Bhuvanakośa*-account, Laṅkā is mentioned as extending to 100×30 *Yojanās*, a happy and beautiful city, inaccessible to men, and full of strong haughty Rākṣasas who can take forms at their will (*Kāmarūpins*).

Pp. 37-38. *Kūrma*

Ch. 19, p. 216, *Bib. Ind.* edn., gives the geneology of the Rākṣasas, of Rāvaṇa and those connected with him. All of them are referred to as having done severe penance and as *Rudra-Bhaktas*.

P. 39. *Garuḍa*

Ch. 81 here has a list of *Tīrthas* which includes *Setu* and *Rāmeśvara* (vv. 8-9).

Pp. 39-40. *Sivamhāpurāṇa*

Ch. 20 of Book Three, the *Śatarudrasamhitā* of the Purāṇa is interesting for the story of Hanumān narrated here. Hanumān is mentioned as a manifestation of Śiva for helping Rāma in his mission and the achievements of Hanumān as part of Śiva's *Līlās*. Śiva meets Viṣṇu in the latter's manifestation as Mohinī and gets disturbed ; his semen that falls is transferred by the seven sages to Gautama's daughter Añjanī, through her ear, and the child she conceives thereby is Hanumān. This birth-story of Hanumān is particularly interesting as it has an echo in the Malaysian version of the *Rāmāyaṇa*.

In the account of Hanumān's early life, his attempt to catch the Sun, taking it for a fruit, and his learning all branches of knowledge from the Sun are mentioned. It is at the direction of the Sun, it is said here, that Hanumān goes to Sugrīva, an offspring of the Sun, to help Sugrīva as his minister.

P. 43. *Skānda*

In the fifth Khaṇḍa of the *Skānda, Āvantya*, section 1, ch. 31, an account is given of Rāma establishing a *Siva Linga* called after himself in Ujjain. He is said to do it on his way, after he left Citrakūṭa mountain, to relieve himself of his feelings of separation from

Daśaratha, Bharata and all others in Ayodhyā. Rāma is said to perform here a *Śrāddha* for Daśaratha. When consecrating the *Liṅga* Rāma asks Lakṣmaṇa to bring water from river Siprā and Lakṣmaṇa refuses. Then follows a description of his strange disobedience and reluctance to play the role of a servant to Rāma and Sītā and unbecoming reference to the care-free life of Sītā. The whole episode is *verbatim* identical with what is set forth below on pp. 55-56 of the *Lectures* from the *Pādma*.

The 79th *Liṅga* in Ujjain is named after Hanumān, the Hanumatkeśvara. Ch. 79 of this Book describes it and while doing so, gives a short account of Hanumān, his prowess and early life, as told by the sages to Rāma after the latter's victory over Rāvaṇa in the manner of the *Uttarakāṇḍa* of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. The only noteworthy point is that some space is devoted especially to a curse according to which Hanumān would forget his strength at times or for a short while. This is said to explain why he achieved so many feats of strength on the battle-field but did not do away with Vālin who ill-treated his friend Sugrīva.

Section 3 of this Book, ch. 35, refers to Rāvaṇa, his wife Maṇḍodarī and son Indrajit (Meghanāda). During his aerial journeys on the Vimāṇa, Rāvaṇa sees on the Vindhyas Maya, his wife and daughter Maṇḍodarī and secures Maṇḍodarī as his wife. The birth of their son and why he was named Meghanāda, are then told. Meghanāda brought two *Liṅgas* and on his way back to Laṅkā, one *Liṅga* slipped and fell into the Narmadā at a place called Garjana, where it is worshipped as *Meghanāda Liṅga.*

Then follows a short resume in forty verses of the *Rāmāyaṇa* story from *Sugrīva-sakhya* onwards. It is to be noted that the consecration of a *Siva Liṅga* at the *Setu* is mentioned as done before the battle for obtaining victory. Hanumān is also said to spread *Rāma-bhakti* in the world.

Ch. 83 here deals with one more *Hanumanteśvara Liṅga,* this one on the Narmadā. The exploits of Hanumān in the *Sundara* and *Yuddha Kāṇḍas* are told and the *Liṅga* is said to have been consecrated by Hanumān to wipe off the association with the sin of *Brahmahatyā* connected with Rāvaṇa's death. The next ch. (84th) continues the same theme with reference to another *Tīrtha* on the Narmadā connected with Hanumān, the *Kapitīrtha,* and following Hanumān, Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa, who come from Ayodhyā, found two *Liṅgas* there.

Ch. 136 here has the story of Ahalyā, mentioned consistently as Ahilyā, and Indra and the former being cursed to become a stone and the latter to become covered with the female organ. After she rose from the stone, thanks to Rāma and Viśvāmitra, she established the *Ahalyeśvara Liṅga* and worshippd the same.

In Book 6, the *Nāgarakhaṇḍa*, in addition to what has been noticed on p. 43 of the *Lectures*, we have in two chapters (208-209) one more account of the Ahalyā-episode. This account is in the midst of the māhātmya of Hāṭakeśvara shrine and the holy spots there. The festival of Indra for a duration of *five days* is mentioned at the end of ch. 206, in which, Indra says he will be on earth for *five days* and the people will celebrate the festival with music etc. In further explanation of this Indra-festival of five days, chs. 207 and 208, narrate the episode of Aha(i)lyā and Indra. The points to be noted here including differences or additions are Ahalyā is cursed to become a stone ; regarding Indra becoming covered with the female organ it is his *face* that is mentioned as becoming covered like this (16) and if Indra comes to earth again for receiving any worship, his head wil go to pieces (17). Later, on representation being made to him, sage Gautama restricted Indra's presence on earth for five days for his festival in autumn (56, 57). Even here Indra is not allowed to be present in person or in any image of his, but is to be represented only by a wooden post (69). The reference is to the well-known *Indradhvaja* festival.

In the VIIth Book, *Prabhāsa Khaṇḍa*, chs. 19 and 20 have *Rāmāyaṇa*-material. In the 19th Rāma's appearance, with Vasiṣṭha as priest and teacher, as Daśaratha's son, for putting an end to Rāvaṇa is mentioned (76). The 20th gives the geneology of Dānavas and Rākṣasas and of Rāvaṇa among the latter. It is identical with *Vāyu* 70, 31 ff. noticed on pp. 36-37 of the *Lectures*. The physical oddities of Kubera and Rāvaṇa and their extra limbs mentioned in *Vāyu*, are given here also (vv. 21-27).

Ch. 111 describes the greatness of a *Liṅga* called after Rāma, the *Rāmeśvara* in *Prabhāsa*, capable particularly of removing the sin of *Brahmahatyā*. Rāma was on a visit to this place along with the sages and saw his father Daśaratha in dream. Rāma then performed here a *Śrāddha* for his father but Sītā hid herself, refused to come out and serve the Brāhmaṇas, an episode same as the one in the *Pādma*, *Sṛṣṭi* 27, and set forth on p. 55 of the *Lectures*.

P. 44. *Brahmapurāṇa, Gautamīmāhātmya*

After the *Tīrtha* noticed in Ch. 154 here, there is a description in Ch. 157 of one more connected with a name in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the *Kiṣkhindhātīrtha*. After the victory over Rāvaṇa, Rāma, Vibhīṣaṇa, Sugrīva, Hanumān and the monkeys stay on the banks of the Godāvarī. They all worship *Śivaliṅgas* there. Rāma says that except the *Liṅgas* consecrated by himself and other devotees of Śiva who knew the *mantras*, the other *Liṅgas* might be removed by Hanumān. But although the latter tried with his hands first and then with his tail, he could not uproot the *Liṅgas*. A similar incident of Hanumān's failure to uproot a *Liṅga* with all his might and with his tail is told in the *Skānda*. See above p. 42 of the *Lectures*. Then Rāma and all others with him worship the *Liṅgas*, pray to the Gautamī and depart.

Ch. 173 here expatiates on the greatness of the image of *Ananta Vāsudeva* and in that connection, narrates that Rāvaṇa forcibly snatched that image from Indra when he and his son Indrajit fought and defeated Indra. Rāvaṇa took the image to Laṅkā where his brother Vibhīṣaṇa, a devotee of Viṣṇu, asked for it and Rāvaṇa gave it to him for his own worship. After this a brief resume of the *Rāmāyaṇa* story, from Rāvaṇa's abduction of Sītā (37 ff.), is told. Rāma is said to have brought the *Ananta Vāsudeva* image to Ayodhyā and at the time of his final departure to heaven, to have entrusted it to Varuṇa.

In Ch. 213, the *Brāhma* gives an account of different incarnations of Viṣṇu and verses 124-158 here describe *Rāma avatāra*. What is to be noted here is that this whole account is identical with that in the *Harivaṁśa*, ch. 41 and the *Mahābhārata, Sabhā, Arghāharaṇa*, ch. 38 (Gorakh). The readings in the *Brāhma* are closer to the *HV* text and a long verse found here (141), *Hutāśanārkāṁśu* etc., is absent from the *M. Bhā.* text and is seen in the *HV* text.

P. 47. *Nāradīya*

In its first Khaṇḍa, ch. 79, Hanumān's story is told by Rāma. Giving a resume of his own acts, Rāma says that Viśvāmitra kept him and Lakṣmaṇa *for a month* in his Āśrama after the sacrifice was over and before they left for Mithilā; Kaikeyī's interference with the coronation is described as *Devakārya-vidhānārtham*, intended for achieving the purpose of the gods; *Sītāharaṇa* is said to have taken place in the *thirteenth* year of the exile.

After the coronation, Rāma performs a *Śrāddha* for Daśaratha for which he invites Sugrīva and Vibhīṣaṇa but the latter does not come. It is revealed by Śiva that Vibhīṣaṇa has been held captive by the Drāviḍas and that Rāma may go and get him released. This imprisonment of Vibhīṣaṇa is described in greater detail in the *Pādma, Pātāla*, as shown on pp. 51-52 of the *Lectures*.

Rāma then expatiates on the worship of the *Sphaṭika Liṅga* of Śiva at Tryambak and in this connection refers to a pupil of sage Gautama called Śaṅkarātmā, intoxicated with *Śiva-bhakti* and behaving like one mad. It is said that it is this Śaṅkarātmā who became Hanumān.

In the *Uttara Khaṇḍa*, a short chapter (76th) speaks of the *Setu* and *Rāmeśvara Liṅga*.

P. 55. *Pādma, Sṛṣṭi,* chs. 27-8

The story here of the *Śrāddha* by Rāma and Sītā not coming forward to serve and hiding herself in shame is found also in *Skānda, Āvantya* I.31 and *Prabhāsa* 111.

The story of the sudden outburst from Lakṣmaṇa and his non-co-operation given here is also found in the *Skānda* in the same manner.

P. 58. *Pādma* and its reference to the month of Rāma's birth, the *Caitra,* as *Viṣṇumāsa* and the explanation offered on this.

On this, see Varāhamihira, *Bṛhatsaṁhitā,* ch. 105, śls. 14-15, on the equation of the twelve months with the twelve names of the Lord, Keśava, Nārāyaṇa, etc., according to which *Caitra* is *Viṣṇumāsa.*

P. 59. *Pādma, Uttara,* ch. 74 gives a short *Rāmarakṣāstotra.*

Pp. 64-65, *Viṣṇudharmottara. Kh.* I.

Chs. 238-9 here contain some more *Rāmāyaṇa* material. In his thirst for fights and victory, Rāvaṇa goes on his rounds, visits *Pātāla* and sees Bali, the Demon king there. Having heard that Bali had been bound and sent to *Pātāla* by Viṣṇu, Rāvaṇa offers to proceed against Viṣṇu and get Bali released. Bali asks Rāvaṇa to take the two *Kuṇḍalas* kept there and Rāvaṇa is unable to lift even one of them, whereupon Bali informs Rāvaṇa that these are the ear-rings worn by Hiraṇyakaśipu whom Viṣṇu drew upon his lap and tore up and Rāvaṇa hopes to vanquish that Viṣṇu! It may be mentioned here that there is an echo of this episode in a Tibetan version of the *Rāmāyaṇa.*

Ch. 239 says that in his further rounds in *Pātāla,* Rāvaṇa sees Viṣṇu lying there with Lakṣmī sitting at his feet. Rāvaṇa approaches Lakṣmī but at a gentle smile from Viṣṇu, falls down powerless and asks Viṣṇu who he was. Viṣṇu replies: "your death, I spare you now; I will incarnate on earth and when you covet Sītā, Lakṣmī's *avatāra,* I will put an end to you." An interesting thing now follows namely, that Rāvaṇa looks at Viṣṇu and sees in Him His *Viśvarūpa*-form ; he then expresses his gratitude to the Lord, welcomes the impending death at His hands and departs.

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